

**THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY AND ITS DOMINANT IDEOLOGY:  
THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL STATUS ON ITS VIEW OF CAPITALISM**

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We have been thrown by strange historic reasons into the hands of the capitalist hitherto. We have been objects of dole and charity, and despised accordingly. We have been made tools of oppression against the working man's cause -- the puppets and playthings of the idle rich. Fools! We must awake! Not in a renaissance among ourselves of the evils of "get and grab-not" in private hoarding, squeezing and cheating.

W. E. B. DuBois

The Seventh Son: The Thought  
and Writings of W. E. B. DuBois

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Those who are sympathetic to the Marxist framework and its exploration of social reality are faced with a critical dilemma. Throughout African-American history racism has been identified as the major obstacle blocking the progress of the African-American community.<sup>1</sup> As a result, African-Americans have focused largely on fighting racist policies and practices. This has fostered an attempt at being an equal participant in the American way of life. On the other hand, we have not taken enough time to analyze other oppressive forces in American society, particularly economic ones. African-American Christian Marxists have come to believe that American capitalism is oppressive and is the cause of many of the social problems facing all racial and ethnic groups today.<sup>2</sup> Our dilemma is in trying to organize social programs and organizations for social change in a community that is striving to be a part of a system based on oppression and human alienation.

This paper represents an attempt on the part of African-American Christian Marxists to dialogue with and within the African-American community. We are asking the African-American community to inform us of its aspirations, goals and perceptions. This study is designed to understand how African-Americans view capitalism as a system. Is it advantageous for African-Americans? We will also study how different

social classes compare in their respective views of capitalism.<sup>3</sup> Is there a difference in how the African-American Poor view American Capitalism and the Middle and Upper-Class? This information will provide a vital starting point for organizing community action and developing organizations for social improvements.

Furthermore, this information will be extremely valuable to the African-American church. If the church is going to be effective in the coming decades, it must be aware of the needs, conditions and aspirations of its members. The ministry of the African-American church is shaped by the African-American community's definition of itself and its mission. This study also examines the religious involvement of the African-Americans.<sup>4</sup> How many belong to a church? How active are they in the church operation? To what types of churches do they belong? All of this information will be studied in reference to class differences and perceptions of capitalism. Are there differences in the religious involvement of the Poor and Middle and Upper-Middle class African-Americans? Are there differences in the religious involvement of those who support American capitalism and those who oppose it?

### Overview of Study

This study shall focus on three aspects of African-American life. These are: (1) African-Americans' views on capitalism; (2) how views on capitalism are affected by social status; and (3) the effects of social status and views of capitalism on church involvement. The study will be divided into two parts. The first part will be a historical

analysis of the effects of capitalism on the African-American community and its ideology. The second part consists of an empirical survey of four Atlanta communities. These communities represent four different social classes: (1) Lower Class, (2) Upper-Lower Class, (3) Middle Class, and (4) Upper-Middle Class.

The theoretical framework that runs throughout the paper is Marx's theory of social reality. The Marxist critique seems to be the best, if not the only, framework for understanding the theoretical study of capitalist society. [Definitions of key terms such as African-American, capitalism, social status and church involvement can be found in the first four endnotes.]



## **PART ONE**

### **HISTORICAL REVIEW OF CAPITALISM AND THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE**

Part One will use the Marxist Theoretical Framework to examine American Capitalism and its effects on the African-American community, church and ideology. In accomplishing this, this part of the study will focus on three areas. The first area, Marx's Theoretical Framework, will examine the historical development of capitalism, Marx's critique of social reality and Marx's critique of capitalism. The second area will cover the history of American Capitalism, American Capitalism and African-Americans, and American Capitalism and the African-American church. The third area, African-Americans' views on capitalism, will discuss the ideological transformation of African-Americans and the African-American church.

## CHAPTER II

### MARX'S THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### Historical Development of Capitalism

It is argued that the Protestant Reformation was one of the main historical events that helped to give rise to the capitalist system. The Reformation was instrumental in creating scientific and technological advancements as well as religious and social freedom. Before the Reformation the church was the dominant force in society. People assumed that the scriptures were the very word of God, and all assumed the existence of a natural moral law.<sup>1</sup> According to John C. Olin, "the problem of the Reformation was that of authority of interpretation of the Biblical text."<sup>2</sup> The secular community would not challenge the church for fear of being excommunicated. The church claimed itself independent of all control and the investiture struggle is a clear indication of how this affected social life. The Royal Hierarchy, science and technology had to submit to the Pope. Giordano Bruno was burned at the stake by the church for supporting scientific views that contradicted church doctrine. When Martin Luther concluded that each individual must construct his/her faith for him/herself out of the scriptures and that each community has the power to decide what is true doctrine, a large portion of the population refused the authority of the Pope, giving rise to the Enlightenment where scientific knowledge flourished. It also gave political power to the Royal Hierarchy.

At the same time the merchant class was on the rise. Cities were started by free persons who came together to seek independence from local feudal lords. In these cities leadership was controlled by the wealthy landowners or merchants.<sup>3</sup> Within the city classes began to develop. "Most dissatisfied with their status were the members of small guilds. They inhabited the suburbs and constituted a kind of second class citizenry."<sup>4</sup>

The merchant class became a political class, often in opposition to the Royal Hierarchy. The merchant class used their money to manipulate the political arena. "Charles V used bribery to control the throne of Charlemagne. He was supported by the Fuggers, a merchant family of Augsburg."<sup>5</sup> Also, the merchant class controlled the market place.

In a list of grievances sent up to the Diet in the year 1523, the counts, barons and knights said that the German nation was being brought to ruin and confusion by the trading and engrossing associations. It is a well known fact, they complained, how greatly the large trading associations in Germany have harassed the subjects of the Holy Empire, in nearly all classes, with their monopolies, their combinations and their arbitrary degrees as to the rate at which every article is to be priced, by their suppression of the ordinary small shopkeepers, from whom we might buy commodities much more advantageously, and by the flagrantly excessive profits which they make yearly out of the German nation, far above their expenses and all reasonable gain, while at the same time, compared with other classes, they pay next to no taxes towards the expenditures of our common fatherland and of the Roman Empire.<sup>6</sup>

At the same time, the work of Adam Smith had a great impact on the minds of post-Reformation thinkers. Adam Smith's book, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of Wealth of Nations, was the first serious attempt to study the relationship between the economy and the state. He concluded that "rent, wages, and profit were the only ways in which wealth could be distributed."<sup>7</sup> Smith saw each individual working for

his/her own self interest. Any intervention by the government would only hinder the distribution of wealth. His work helped to legitimize the merchant class position.

There were two critiques of Smith's work. Auguste Comte gave a positive response. He concluded that "scientific study should be spread to all aspects of society."<sup>8</sup> Karl Marx gave a negative critique of political economy. Marx emphasized historical analysis. Society will be transformed as the contradictions of society manifest themselves.<sup>9</sup> This marks the beginning of Marx's critique of capitalist society.

### Marxist Critique of Social Reality

Marx made three basic assumptions about society. The first assumption of Marx is that the human creature is a producer. He/She has to produce those things that sustain life. These are food, clothing, and shelter. Marx characterizes labor as the distinctive activity of human beings; that is, "their species beings."<sup>10</sup> Out of this notion comes the foundational theory in which the whole of Marxism is based--objectification.

Objectification is the process in which an individual through labor forms objects in the image of his/her needs.<sup>11</sup> In the process of satisfying his/her needs, individuals enhance their capacity to master the environment through the technology used. This process also transforms the individual's relationships to other individuals. There is a relationship that arises out of the attempt to distribute the goods gained from labor.

The second assumption that Marx makes is concerning society. "Society is the sum of the relationships developed by individuals."<sup>12</sup>

These relationships are created through human actions. These relationships also are reciprocal in that they also create the historical context in which human action takes place. Once social relations become institutionalized, they act as a force that conditions individuals and limits their range of actions.

For Marx, human relationships are divided into two categories:

(1) the material productive forces and (2) the relations of production. The material productive forces consist of all the social and technological relations that go into creating the goods that sustain life, and the relations of production consist of the legal and property relations within which productive forces operate.<sup>13</sup>

The third assumption that Marx makes is that society is dynamic. "The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general."<sup>14</sup> If the mode of production changes, then society changes. Capitalism is one mode of production.

### Marx's Critique of Capitalism

The difference between capitalist society and any other society is that capitalist society evolves around a money-commodity-money relationship.<sup>15</sup> This is an economic relationship where one takes money to buy a commodity and resells that commodity at a greater value to produce capital (profit). Marx explains that labor power is essential to the capitalist because labor power has the capacity to create value over and above the cost of its own reproduction or exchange value.<sup>16</sup>

Out of wage and labor relations comes the foundation for social class. The first group, the capitalist, owns and controls the means of production. The second group, the proletariat, does not own and must sell their labor power. Marx suggests that within these classes

there are different levels.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, in the Marxist framework, any analysis of social class is an analysis of social inequality. Social classes suggest that there is inequality of power to command the means of production. Those who control have power over purchasing, possessions, property relations, production, work requirements and work security. This suggests inequality of opportunity.

In the traditional Marxist model, the state is an agent that maintains the capitalist system of inequality.<sup>18</sup> Its role is to preserve the social and economic order that arises out of the capitalist mode of production.

### Summary

This chapter dealt with the rise of capitalism and Marx's critique of this economic system. Capitalism developed in an atmosphere of social, political, technological and scientific freedom created by The Reformation. At the same time, a rising merchant class controlled large sums of money and found legitimacy for their activities in the writings of Adam Smith. Marx's understanding of humankind was an economic individual whose lifestyle depends largely on his position in the economic structure of society. Within capitalist society, the majority of individuals are exploited by those who control the means of production. The next chapter shall use the Marxist framework to understand American capitalism and its effects on the African-American community.

## CHAPTER III

### AFRICAN-AMERICANS AND CAPITALISM

#### History of American Capitalism

During the course of American society, history can be divided into four basic periods. These four periods correspond to dominant economic trends. These are: (1) British Imperial Capitalism, (2) Laissez-faire Industrial Capitalism, (3) Social Welfare Industrial Capitalism, and (4) National Security Industrial Capitalism.<sup>1</sup> In order to understand the impact of American society on the African-American church, we must come to grips with these dominant economic trends.

The first period, British Imperial Capitalism, lasted until the Revolutionary War. This was a period when the British government dominated the affairs of the colonies. "The colonies supported monetarily the British endeavors--such as the French and Indian War."<sup>2</sup> The cotton economy of the South provided the major economic thrust for this period. Cotton was extremely important because it was needed for the rapidly expanding textile market in England.<sup>3</sup>

The southern economy generated profits for all of the colonies. Plantation owners, merchants, shippers and financiers benefited from cotton. Although the agricultural possibilities were not as great in the North, it slowly prospered. The northern colonies--New England,

New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey--greatly depended on the South. The northern colonies were greatly involved in the slave and mercantile trade.<sup>4</sup>

The second period, Laissez-faire Industrial Capitalism, was the dominant force throughout the nineteenth century. "This period was indicative of the lack of restrictions on monopoly, profit and exploitive labor practices."<sup>5</sup> During this stage, money was concentrated in family firms and businesses. "The technology of the period was labor intensive; that is, it consumed more labor than machinery."<sup>6</sup> Most of the goods that were produced were for the financially well off. Production was not advanced enough to create a consumer society. Labor was in great demand but working conditions were poor.

During the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, the focus was to expand westward. This provided the southern planter with new and richer land. In order to exploit the land, the United States had to import millions of people, dig canals, build a large railroad network, import capital and develop technology.<sup>7</sup>

The third period of American capitalism was Social Welfare Industrial Capitalism. Capital was becoming national, especially in industry. Many northern manufacturers were investing in the South. Workers began to increasingly organize themselves into labor unions. There was a demand for labor. Increased productivity and technology were laying the foundation for a consumer society.

The fourth period of American Capitalism is National Security Industrial Capitalism. This stage began around 1968 and is characterized



by the transnationalization of capital. The owners of corporations are no longer the presidents and head officials but the major stock holders. Corporations are no longer local or national, but have global implications and must now compete with foreign competitors.<sup>8</sup> As a result, they can no longer bend to the demands of unions or workers without being undercut by their foreign competitors. These corporations tend to invest where returns are greatest, and the returns are usually greater in nations where wages are restrained and social services curtailed.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, authoritarian governments and dictatorships have a competitive advantage in this new global market. This decreased the power of the laborers because American laborers were in competition with labor from third world nations (who worked much more cheaply).

Technology is also capital intensive--using more machinery, computers and energy. This helped produce structured unemployment and a permanent underclass. Downward mobility will be the new trend and the ingredients for the American dream will slowly slip away. The state is responsible for streamlining the national system for transnational competition. This means restraining wages, slowing social services and increased government authority.

#### American Capitalism and the African-American Community

During each period of American capitalism the African-American population was forced into a particular kind of relationship to the means and modes of production. In British Imperial Capitalism, there was a great need for slave labor to satisfy the cotton economy. During

this period thousands of slaves were transported from Africa. Africans were a transplanted labor force. African-American slave labor was concentrated in the South.

Laissez-faire Industrial Capitalism saw the African-American community begin to take shape. Conditions in the South remained basically the same until after the Civil War. However, the northern freedman began to exercise greater liberties.<sup>10</sup> There were two reasons for this. First, White religious groups like the Quakers and Baptists began to speak out against slavery.<sup>11</sup> Legally, slavery was abolished around 1774. Secondly, the North was fastly becoming an industrial center. After the Revolutionary War, the North began to supply the industrial and technological needs of the American nation.<sup>12</sup> In industrial society slavery prohibits profits. Not only did the African-Americans have a greater freedom, but they also had some means of gaining material resources. The new industrial economy provided financial opportunities for some African-Americans. However, the majority of the population was poor. After the Civil War, the South was faced with rebuilding the economy out of the ruins of war. "Faced with the restoration of status quo antebellum through the Black codes and mob violence, African-Americans could not find comfort in the South."<sup>13</sup>

There was an effort to replace African-Americans as the principal source of labor. The South tried to attract European and Chinese immigrants but this effort failed. Initially, African-Americans did not know what to make of their newly acquired freedom. Many relied on government agencies for protection and livelihood. The South began

to contract with African-Americans under the watch care of the Freedman's Bureau. Because of the lack of ready cash, tenant farming and sharecropping became the trend.<sup>14</sup> Those that did not get caught by the sharecropping trap were replaced by Whites as skilled artisans. At the end of the war, 80% of the artisans were African-Americans but by the turn of the century they were only 5%.<sup>15</sup>

Although Social Welfare Industrial Capitalism demanded more labor, the African-Americans that wanted to be a part of the new industrial movement were in competition with Whites and their organized labor movements. The economic conditions in the South at the turn of the century forced a shift in the African-American population. Soil erosion and boll weevil problems forced bad crops. Between 1870 and 1900, 521,000 African-Americans migrated from the cotton states and 340,000 migrated to the North. Between 1900 and 1920, 844,000 migrated from the cotton states and 719,000 migrated to the North.<sup>16</sup> Those who stayed South tended to move to cities between 1910 and 1920. During this period, the African-American population grew to 23% in Atlanta, 34% in Birmingham, 15% in Richmond, 66% in New York, 58% in Philadelphia, 148% in Chicago and 611% in Detroit.<sup>17</sup> In urban areas African-Americans began to accumulate wealth and the new middle-class began to participate in the larger American society, as much as permitted by Whites.

During National Security Industrial Capitalism, industry moved to totally disenfranchise labor. Because industry became global, cheap labor was exploited in third world nations, forcing wages down in the

United States. It also created an industrial underclass of people dispensable to the industrial system. We are now experiencing the rapid growth of the homeless. Industry has cut employee benefits. Labor pools and temporary labor services are supplying industry with disenfranchised labor, automation has also helped to displace workers.

This has had a devastating effect on the African-American community. The Civil Rights movement largely neglected to consider the future of the industrial capitalist movement. As a result of automation and the general disenfranchisement of labor the opportunity for many African-Americans to prosper was narrowed. However, the rising African-American Middle-Class was in a position to capitalize from the Civil Rights Movement.<sup>18</sup> Affirmative action allowed those who were educated and already had training to take advantage of the gains after the movement. The government began to cut back on social programs in the late 1970s. First, unemployment and poverty hit the African-American community--especially the lower class. An extremely large percentage of the homeless population is young, African-American, and male. Secondly, there grew an increasingly wide gap between the Middle and Lower Class African-Americans. After the Civil Rights Movement, Middle Class African-Americans were taking over Middle and Upper Middle Class White communities as Whites flocked to suburbia.

#### American Capitalism and the African-American Church

American capitalism also had an impact on the African-American church. Many of the decisions that were made by the church were in

reaction to economic forces. The African-American church began to take shape during the British Imperial Capitalism. There were two stages of development. The first stage was the period of great neglect, which lasted from 1619 to 1740. Slave owners feared converting slaves because English common law suggested that baptism meant civil liberties. At this point African traditional religion, the slaves' own genius, and the American Indian religion dominated.<sup>19</sup> Former African priests and medicine men tended to provide the leadership in this stage. This form of religiosity was termed the "invisible institution."<sup>20</sup>

The second stage began to develop after the Great Awakening in 1740. During this stage White missionaries introduced the Baptist religion to the slaves. Missionaries like Shubal Stearns, Wait Palmer, Matthew Moore and Abraham Marshal were forerunners in the movement. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was organized and persuaded slaveholders to introduce the gospel to the slaves. Many slave churches sprang up during this time. In 1750 the first African-American church was established with a White minister. The church at Silver Bluff, South Carolina was established.<sup>21</sup> The religious gatherings of the slaves were led by Whites, or there were White overseers if a slave led.

In the North, the free African-American population was not allowed to gather and visit freely. "Legally, there were provisions for some religious education."<sup>22</sup> Many worshipped in mixed congregations. However, African-Americans sat in segregated sections in the church and were not allowed to vote on church matters.

In the second stage of American Capitalism, Laissez-faire Industrial Capitalism, the African-American church organized to meet the needs of the freedman in the North. In the South the slave religion either operated under the watch care of the White overseers, or it operated in secrecy. The northern church of the freedman was called the "institutional church."<sup>23</sup> The church was the first organization that African-Americans had operated and controlled on their own.

The northern church was operated by former slaves who had purchased their freedom or who had run away from the plantation. As their population increased in the northern cities, their status was threatened. First, they were in competition with White laborers. Secondly, they were fighting the colonies' attempt to send all free African-Americans back to Africa.<sup>24</sup> And, thirdly, they found that their freedom was not secure--politically, economically, or religiously. They found themselves second class citizens in white churches. Ida Rousseau Mukenge summarizes by saying: "The origin of the African-American church is due to the inability of American political and religious institutions to safeguard the status of black freedmen who became more insecure as their numbers increased and slavery took on greater economic importance in the United States."<sup>25</sup>

The character and nature of the African-American church, as described above, continued until after the Civil War. E. Franklin Frazier suggests that it was the merger of the invisible church and the institutional church that helped African-Americans after the war and during reconstruction.<sup>26</sup> Woodson argues that "African-Americans grew closer to the church during the Civil War because they heard the

church denounce slavery."<sup>27</sup> After the war, many new churches sprang up. African-Americans had so many unmet needs, and the preacher was the only person in the community who was sufficiently well developed to lead the people. Also, the church was the only institution they had ever maintained. "When the time came for them to exercise other functions in society, this one institution was overworked to supply the needs of others."<sup>28</sup>

"Most of the newly emancipated African-Americans from the reconstruction states were drawn to the Baptist church."<sup>29</sup> African-Americans found more freedom and enjoyment of democracy in the Baptist church. Immediately after the War Baptist churches readily united for mutual benefits in freedom. Their task was to educate the masses, equip the ministry and elevate the laity and evangelize.<sup>30</sup>

Many White philanthropists and church organizations began to pour funds into the African-American religious educational institutions. Shaw University, Roger Williams, Morehouse, Leland, Benedict, Walden, Morgan, Haven Academy, Claflin and Clark College were all established by 1870. Mass migration in the third stage, Social Welfare Industrial Capitalism, affected the African-American church.

First of all, the church had to structure itself to deal with this mass migration. The churches began to become more rational by instituting rules and regulations covering jurisdiction, officials, salaries, education, sales, mortgages, and membership.<sup>31</sup> The three

Baptist conventions united in 1894 to become the National Baptist Convention of America. Black churches began to establish publishing companies, educational boards and sent missionaries to Africa. Mass migration also increased membership in the city churches.<sup>32</sup>

The churches also gained more property. In 1916 the assets of the 37,000 African-American churches in the United States that owned property were approximately \$90,000,000.<sup>33</sup>

The rapid growth in the urban areas had a negative effect on the church overall. The priority of the church began to shift. DuBois suggested that the three major functions of the church became the annual budget, maintenance of membership, and recreation.<sup>34</sup> Many churches began to spend less money on programs for the social uplift of the people. The Methodist Church was spending less than 10% of its annual budget on charitable services.<sup>35</sup>

Another effect that the rapid growth produced was competition from other social organizations. As African-Americans began to move into the cities in large numbers, the church did not have enough resources to function as it had previously functioned providing the mutual aid and racial solidarity. Other organizations began to develop and take up many of these functions.

The New York Rose Working Girls Society was founded in 1897. The Committee for Improving the Industrial Condition of the Negro was founded in 1906 and later organized to become the National Urban League. All of the Greek fraternities were founded between 1906 and 1914. The Afro-American League first met in 1890. The National Negro Business League was organized in 1900.<sup>36</sup>

All of these organizations and others that were organized took on functions that the church had traditionally performed.



Many African-Americans prospered in the urban areas although the majority of them were poor. Ida Mukenge suggests that "class consciousness had shaped the structure of the church as early as 1930."<sup>37</sup> There were four types of churches which were categorized by ritual: ecstatic, semi-demonstrative, deliberative and liturgical. The membership consisted of the lower class, lower middle class, upper middle class and upper class, respectively.<sup>38</sup>

Many of the factors discussed above contribute to what Gayraud Wilmore called the "deradicalization of the African-American church" and the "dechristianization of radicalism."<sup>39</sup> The deradicalization of the African-American church has to do with the African-American church alienating itself from the masses of African-American people by moving toward middle class norms and the values of the dominant White society. As a result, many other movements began to organize and be very critical of the African-American church. For example, Marcus Garvey, the Rastafari Movement, African-American Pentecostalism, African-American Jews, Daddy Grace, Father Divine, the Moorish Science Temple and the Muslims grew in urban areas. Many of these movements stressed radical pride and solidarity, and more importantly, some identified with Africa and African culture.

The dechristianization of radicalism refers to the fact that the radical element separated itself from King's movement during the Civil Rights Movement. Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, Adam Clayton Powell, the Poor Peoples Campaign, and for the most part, James Cone and other Liberation Theology

advocates criticized King and the church. These new radical groups shouted a new cry for Black power, and distinguished themselves from King's movement in the 1960s.

In the final stage, National Security Industrial Capitalism, the church continued to show changes. African-Americans began to separate along class lines, and the church seemed to do so also. Two studies of the church and community in the metropolitan Atlanta area suggest this. A study on the African-American underclass found that the largest percentage of African-Americans in the poor neighborhoods were either affiliated with the Holiness, Pentecostal, or small storefront churches or did not attend church.<sup>40</sup> The second study was a case study of twenty-four African-American churches' outreach programs. Most of the churches had a majority of Middle Class members; even churches in poor communities.<sup>41</sup> The study focused on only mainline denominations: Baptist, Methodist, African Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal Zion, and Presbyterian. Several churches were surrounded by housing projects; however, most of their members were middle class and did not live in the immediate community. The outreach programs of most of these churches were geared toward the membership for the most part. If there were any outreach programs for the community they tended to be detached clientele/patron relationships.

### Summary

In this chapter American history is divided into four periods corresponding to major economic trends throughout American society.

African-Americans were greatly affected by these trends and the identity of the African-American community was shaped largely by its efforts to accommodate to the exploitiveness of American capitalism. As a result of crop failure, producing mass migration to the North and large cities, the African-American church found that its limited resources would not let it meet the needs of the growing population. The next chapter shall examine the effects of American capitalism on the ideology of the African-American and the church.

## CHAPTER IV

### AFRICAN-AMERICANS' VIEWS OF CAPITALISM

#### Ideological Transformation of African-Americans

The slave system produced four levels of African-American society: (1) field hands; (2) mechanics and artisans; (3) valets, butlers, and house servants; and (4) free Blacks.<sup>1</sup> The field hands were the lowest on the social ladder and they were responsible for plowing, planting, harvesting, etc. Mechanics and artisans were responsible for supplying the skilled labor on the plantation system. They were brickmasons, carpenters, barbers, blacksmiths, and repair persons. The house servants (mulattoes) were mixed White and Black because plantation owners and overseers usually had their way with the women that worked in the house.<sup>2</sup>

The free Black population was concentrated in the North. They had acculturated to the values and loyalties of White society.<sup>3</sup> Free Blacks in the North had bought into the ideology of freedom and equality in American society. However, these African-Americans had to band together and adopt an ideology of racial solidarity because the northern colonies did not secure their freedom.<sup>4</sup>

After slavery ended, the mulattoes established a distinct occupational and social class. They were servants and workers for Whites. They were barbers, porters, tailors, and grocers that depended heavily

on White business. They supported integration and were opposed to Booker T. Washington. However, by the turn of the century this class group was replaced by European immigrants. Also, mass migration of the African-American population ushered in a new middle class.

The new middle class' lifestyle also closely resembled that of the White middle class and they saw the economic advantages of capitalism as a way of uplifting the race.<sup>5</sup> They accepted Booker T. Washington's ideas of racial solidarity through business. These African-American businessmen, depending largely on the rising African-American population in urban areas, used the ideology of racial solidarity to further their own interests and to set themselves apart.<sup>6</sup> They were usually real estate agents, cemetery or insurance associations, and retail and service enterprises. The middle class has been mainly preoccupied with securing its social positions. In general, African-Americans feel that the middle class does very little for the community.<sup>7</sup> C. Eric Lincoln suggests that "the middle class tends to participate in organizations like NAACP, CORE, Urban League, and they strive for integration without struggle."<sup>8</sup>

All and all, African-Americans of high status tend to have values more similar to those of the White middle class, stronger desires to associate with Whites and more negative attitudes toward other African-Americans. For the most part, African-Americans see involvement in America's capitalist economy as a means of advancement. However, there is disagreement concerning the type of economic involvement. There are two models of involvement: (1) Black capitalism and (2) community development.<sup>9</sup> On the one hand, Black capitalism seeks to maximize

the potential of African-American owned businesses. This will allow them to absorb a growing African-American labor force and develop an entrepreneurial class.

On the other hand, Black community development strives to create community businesses that absorb unemployment among African-Americans and uplift the community. It also tries to acquire political power and autonomy to control the flow of resources in the community. This has been the major thrust of Black nationalist groups. Bogdan Demitch suggests that "Black nationalism is more in line with Marxist thought."<sup>10</sup>

There have only been a small minority of African-American groups that openly rejected American capitalism. "The Black Panthers and Black Liberation Army adopted a Maoist and post-Leninist understanding of Marx."<sup>11</sup> They also advocated armed struggle. The student movements in the sixties stimulated thoughts of a working class transformation.<sup>12</sup>

#### Ideological Transformation of the African-American Church

Dr. Mukenge writes that "the Black church was started as a result of ideas of freedom and equality among Free Blacks in the North."<sup>13</sup> The church functioned as a mutual aid society and adopted an ideology of racial solidarity. The church was struggling to establish itself as a legitimate institution and tended not to get involved in the Abolition Movement until the American Colonization Society threatened to send all Free Blacks back to Africa.<sup>14</sup> On one hand, African-Americans (especially Free Blacks in the North) did not go along with this. They had acculturated to the values of White society.

On the other hand, the notion of Black Nationalism and Pan Africanism was influenced largely by the American Colonization Society's efforts.<sup>15</sup> Some African-Americans were enthusiastic about colonizing and evangelizing Africans in Africa. Among these were Paul Coffee, Daniel Coker, Reverend Lott Carey, Martin R. Delaney, Alexander Crummell, and Edward W. Blyden. Their primary aim was to christianize Africans. They also hoped for a better life without slavery and to establish trade and commercial relations with Africa. There were several campaigns to Africa but the African-American church did not have the means to continue.

Around the turn of the century, several African-American preachers were attracted by the Christian Socialist Movement. Men like Reverdy C. Ransom and James T. Holly condemned American capitalism. Reverend George Washington was the most noted African-American Christian Socialist.

As a result of mass migration at the turn of the century, the function of the church changed and it split along class lines. The ideology of racial solidarity persisted, although the church no longer had the means to function as a mutual aid society. The church turned its attention inward to maintenance of membership and the annual budget. "The Black church, when it did not ignore the masses altogether, used the ideology [racial solidarity] to rationalize superiority. The church extended its hand out and down."<sup>16</sup>

The urbanization process produced a class stratified church. Record Wilson found that the socio-economic class composition of the membership of a particular church determined the type of religious services.<sup>17</sup>

Churchgoing is not an important activity for the Upper Class.<sup>18</sup> Those who attend tend to devote themselves to ritualistic type churches, which include Episcopal, Presbyterian and Congregational churches. The Upper Middle Class are more dependable church supporters.<sup>19</sup> They attend mainly Congregational, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches. Their preference is a ritualistic church. These Middle Class churches try to create improvements for African-Americans by working within the system and accepting the American Dream. "The Lower Middle Class is the strongest supporter of the semi-demonstrative churches."<sup>20</sup> They have adopted puritanical and expressive behavior patterns and another worldly salvation. The Lower Class is found in large numbers in the Baptist, Pentecostal and spiritual churches. Their services are characterized by emotional demonstrativeness (dancing and shouting).<sup>21</sup>

Hans Baer writes that the spiritual movement had its beginning when African-Americans settled in large cities. The spiritual movement is a religious response to racial stratification.<sup>22</sup> This movement was a fusion of elements of spiritualism, Black Protestantism, voodooism and hoodoo. The spiritual movement encouraged its members to accept mainstream American values and goals, such as material success and individual achievement. However, many of them realized that hard work alone would not secure the American Dream. " . . . hence the tendency on their part to resort to thaumaturgical/manipulationist techniques, emphasizing a positive attitude and magico-religious rituals, in the attempt to cope with their marginal position in American society."<sup>23</sup>



The Messianic-Nationalist sects, such as the Black Muslims and Black Jews, rejected the values and goals of the dominant culture. They tended to work toward a utopian community.<sup>24</sup> Many of these Black nationalists and Pan-Africanist groups were influenced by the early movement to christianize and colonize Africans.

For the most part, the African-American church has not accepted Marxism.<sup>25</sup> They feel that racism is the major drawback for African-Americans and this problem can be solved without any economic changes. Many feel that Marxism is evil and capitalism is equated with freedom.

African-American theologians have only recently been challenged with Marxism by Latin American theologians who use Marxist class analysis. Cornel West explains that "Black theological reflection did not begin to focus on the exploitiveness of monopolistic capitalism until 1977."<sup>26</sup>

### Summary

Social stratification among African-Americans developed during slavery. On the one hand, the northern freedmen had to adopt an ideology of racial solidarity in order to protect their freedom. The institutional church developed as a result of their efforts. On the other hand, the mulatto house servants established a distinct upper class on the plantation and continued to set themselves apart until the turn of the century. They supported integration. However, mass migration ushered in a new upper class and saw the church split along class lines. The ideology of racial solidarity continued; however, the church tended to ignore the masses and the new Upper Class businessmen used the ideology to further their interests. For the most part, African-Americans looked favorably to capitalism and only a small minority of organizations and churchmen have rejected it.

## **PART TWO**

### **THE SURVEY**

The previous part interpreted the history of the African-American and the African-American church using the Marxist Theoretical Framework as the method of analysis. It also examined the effects of American capitalism on the ideology of the African-American community and church. This part of the paper will expand the previous part by conducting scientific research on the ideology of the African-American community today.

Part Two will develop and conduct a survey in four African-American communities in Atlanta, Georgia. This part will: (1) describe the setting; (2) explain the relevancy of the survey, in general and for ministry; (3) discuss the theories that inform the study and the hypotheses that will be tested; (4) explain the limits of the study; and (5) outline the project and procedures. The conclusion shall be drawn from an analysis of the data collected during the survey.

## CHAPTER V

### THE SETTING

#### Larger Community

Atlanta is a large metropolitan city in the northern half of Georgia that is a growing community, attracting large corporations, businesses and individuals from other parts of our nation. Most come seeking a better way of living. The total population in 1980 was 589,904 in which 303,508 (51%) were African-Americans.<sup>1</sup> The heart of Atlanta is the downtown area which is dominated by the imposing beauty of large eloquent hotels and tall office buildings. These structures harmonize to establish a magnificent skyline. Surrounding the downtown area to the south, east and west are low-income communities, predominantly African-American. To the north is Buckhead, a booming Upper Class community. The Governor's Mansion and similar houses are the major attractions of this community, along with shopping malls and other businesses.

As one moves further east, Atlanta is bordered by Decatur, Georgia. Further west is Adamsville, Collier Heights--mostly Lower Middle-Class African-American communities. The southern portion is comprised of mostly Middle Class communities. The surrounding cities--Marietta, Lawrenceville, Lithonia, East Point, Decatur, College Park,

Riverdale, Jonesboro, and Stone Mountain--act as suburbs to the mostly Middle to Upper Class families. [Appendix 1 compares Atlanta's population characteristics with those of the national population.]

### Larger Religious Community

Within the Atlanta area, 445,131 people (75%) are affiliated with a religious organization.<sup>2</sup> There are five dominant denominations in the Christian and Jewish communities.

The Southern Baptist Convention accounts for 75,542 members [34% of the Christian and Jewish community]. The United Methodist Church is made up of 56,857 members [20.15%]. There are 30,420 Catholics [10.70%]. The Presbyterian Church has 20,954 members [7.48%]. The Episcopal Church is made up of 16,529 members [5.86%]. 163,099 members fall under a category classified as 'estimated other.' This category contains members of churches that did not respond or are non-Christian and non-Jewish religious organizations.<sup>3</sup>

[Appendix 2 provides the total index of church membership reported in 1980 for the Atlanta area.]

### Smaller Community

Within the larger Atlanta area four specific communities will be studied, representing different socio-economic groups of the African-American population. These communities stretch from the northwest to the southwest portion of Atlanta. Appendix 3 indicates the location of these neighborhoods in reference to each other and their exact location in the city.

The first community is Hollywood Courts and its boundaries begin with the Chattahoochee River on the northwest side. The Southern Railroad tracks run from the Chattahoochee River to Johnson Road providing the boundary for the north and east of this community. Proctor

Creek covers the west and southern end of the community. The entire community covers an area of 1,007 acres.

African-Americans make up about 98 percent of the population of this community.<sup>4</sup> They live in mostly low rent apartment complexes. Around three-fourths of the employed persons work for the government. Most of the 381 persons working in private industry work in manufacturing or wholesale trade. An extremely large portion of the households (79%) earn less than \$15,000 annually. Around 4% of the households earn between \$50,000 and \$75,000, and it was reported that two households earn over \$75,000 annually.<sup>5</sup> Appendixes 4, 5, and 6 provide specific information on employment, age and gender, and income of all four communities under study. Appendix 7 is a map of Community I.

The area that will be interviewed is in the heart of this community. Hollywood Road borders the east and Jackson Parkway borders the west. There are homes and two apartment complexes in this area.

Community II is Carrol Heights and is bordered by the Chattahoochee River, Bankhead Highway, Interstate 285, Collier Drive, and Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive. The entire area covers 1,762 acres.

African-Americans make up approximately 99% of the population of Community II.<sup>6</sup> Apartment complexes make up around half of the housing units in the area. More than half of the employed persons work in either the construction industry, transportation, communication, or utilities. The state, local and federal governments employ one-third of the work force of this community. The households in the community earning less than \$15,000 annually make up 67% of the total population and 22% earn between \$15,000 and \$25,000 a year.<sup>7</sup>

The interviews will be conducted in the area west of Bolton Road between Collier Road and Bankhead Avenue. There are houses and apartment complexes in this area. A map of Carrol Heights is provided in Appendix 8.

Community III is Heritage Valley and is bordered by Fairburn Road, Melvin Drive, A.C.L. Railroad tracks, Lakewood Freeway, Dodson Drive and Cascade Road. The total area covers 2,746 acres.

The population of Community III is 94% African-American.<sup>8</sup> The majority of those employed are in private industry--transporation, communication, utilities, retail and services. One-half of the households earn less than \$15,000 annually and approximately one-fourth earn between \$15,000 and \$25,000 annually.<sup>9</sup>

The interviews will be conducted in the area east of Fairburn Road. This area consists of mostly Middle Class homes and two apartment complexes. A map of Heritage Valley is provided in Appendix 9.

Community IV is Niskey Lake and it is bordered by New Hope Road, Cascade Road, Butner Road, Niskey Lake Road and Lakewood Freeway. The community covers an area of 3,355 acres.

African-Americans are 85% of the population in this community.<sup>10</sup> Almost all of the housing units are single family dwellers. The government employs one-half of the work force of this community and one-third of the working population is employed by the retail industry. The households earning less than \$15,000 annually make up 51% of the total and 23% earn between \$15,000 and \$25,000 annually.<sup>11</sup>

The area that will be studied is on Niskey Lake Road. This street circles a lake, and mostly Upper Middle Class African-Americans

reside in the area. A map of Community IV is provided in Appendix 10.

### Smaller Religious Community

Within the four communities under study there is a church located within each setting. In Community I is Springfield Missionary Baptist Church. The pastor is the Reverend Carson and he has been the pastor for eight years. Most of the members of this congregation do not live in the area under study. The church is located one block away from a housing complex. There are approximately one or two families from the housing complex that attend this church. Springfield Missionary Baptist Church does not sponsor any programs designed for the population in the wider community. The church has recently purchased a few acres of land next to the housing projects, and is making plans to construct a new building.

Pleasant Hill Baptist Church is located in the center of Community II. The Reverend Serve is the pastor and has been the leader of the congregation for over thirty years. The church has recently expanded its sanctuary. It operates a day care center during the week. Pleasant Hill seems not to have any ministry relationship with the surrounding community. The pastor did not provide any information on community outreach programs.

Ben Hill United Methodist Church has been the dominant church in Community III. Ben Hill is about 95 years old. This church was a predominantly White Middle Class congregation until the early 1970's.

As the composition of the community began to change, the racial composition of Ben Hill began to change from White to African-American. During the early 1970's, most of the members lived in the immediate community. The Reverend Cornelius L. Henderson was the first African-American pastor of Ben Hill. He came in 1974 and served for twelve years. Under his leadership this congregation grew tremendously. Ben Hill began to attract many members from outside the immediate community. The facility was expanded and new parking areas were provided. The Reverend Dr. Walter Kimbrough is presently serving as pastor and has done so for the past three years. The present membership is about 5,400 and growing. Now, most of the members live outside of the immediate community. While Ben Hill operates a day care center, the church has never had any ongoing community outreach programs on a large scale. Most of their programs tend to be directed to the members. Occasionally it does participate in community outreach, but this is an exception, not the rule.

Bethel United Methodist Church is located in Community IV. The Reverend Stovall is the pastor and has been so for over two years. Bethel was founded in 1875, and moved to the present location from Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive in 1965. The first African-American member joined in 1973. There are 330 members, mostly Middle Class. The members do come from the immediate community, yet there are not community outreach programs in place at present.



Summary

The study will be conducted in four communities in Atlanta, Georgia. This chapter provides a geographic description of the communities and the religious institutions in the area. The data on the population characteristics show that these communities represent different income levels and occupation groups. This information is important for the study because differences in income and occupation suggest differences in social class. This study will examine how various social classes compare in their respective views of capitalism. The next chapter will examine why this inquiry is valuable to the African-American community and church.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE ISSUE

The four communities represent several different socio-economic groups in the total African-American population. These groups range from Lower to Upper Middle-Class. It has often been stated that the African-American community has exerted the majority of its efforts on fighting racial discrimination and the more prominent African-Americans become, the more tolerant they are of the American Capitalist system. The issue here is two-fold. First, how do African-Americans feel about American capitalism? Secondly, do their attitudes toward capitalism differ as they move up the socio-economic ladder?

This is a crucial issue in the African-American community because of consistent deterioration of African-American communities in general. Even though many of the laws of racial segregation have been abolished, African-Americans are continuing to find themselves at a disadvantage in the larger society. The percentage of African-Americans unemployed is considerably higher than that of White Americans. Drug related ills, crime and violence have become ways of the adjusting to economic deprivation in most poor communities. Young African-American males have been overly represented in the ranks of the homeless and dispossessed in urban centers. Why is it that negative economic trends seem

to have a greater impact in the African-American community? Ownership and control of businesses and economic institutions in African-American communities is slowly slipping. If the Civil Rights Movement and subsequent legislation broke down the barriers of racism, then what is preventing the African-American community from securing a piece of the American Dream? Are there other forces beside racism that have been oppressing the African-American community? How does the African-American community see itself in relation to the larger society?

The motivation for addressing this issue is to allow the African-American community to be in dialogue with the leadership by expressing its desires, aspirations and outlooks. Too often the academic world has taken the African-American community for granted. Too often books are written, theories and approaches developed, and important solutions to crucial issues for the African-American community are discovered without even consulting the community. One reason liberation theology is having such a difficult time being accepted in the local African-American church is because liberation theologians have not been in real dialogue with the church and community.

Once we are able to engage in real dialogue with the African-American community, the task of organizing, planning and implementing might become less difficult. It might become easier because we all would understand and share a common concern. Through dialogue we will develop mutual respect for each other and everyone would become a co-participant in the liberation process.

Throughout the history of African-Americans in this country, the viability of capitalism has been debated. Earl E. Thorpe suggests

that, in general, African-Americans have been avid supporters of the capitalist system.<sup>1</sup> Several business organizations were developed and African-Americans were encouraged to participate in free enterprise.

In 1898 John Hope urged African-Americans to start their own businesses and patronize them instead of White businesses. In 1900, Booker T. Washington helped organize the National Negro Business League in order to promote African-American business enterprises. The National Urban League was organized in 1910 and incorporated in 1913. Its first task was to study the economic and social conditions of the Negro in New York. Its major concern was that African-Americans advance in industry without discrimination. George Edmund Haynes, E. R. A. Seligman, Julius Rosenwald, R. R. Morton, Booker T. Washington and Kelly Milton were the first supporters of the National Urban League.<sup>2</sup>

Thorpe, in The Mind of the Negro, says that "many of the early African-American capitalists were very conservative on racial matters. They felt that the race should stay away from issues that would stir up antagonisms in the White community."<sup>3</sup> He also notes that

by 1922, African-Americans had acquired 27,000,000 acres of land, 600,000 homes and 45,000 churches. They also operated 78 banks, 100 insurance companies and 50,000 other businesses with a combined capital of more than \$150,000,000.<sup>4</sup>

Also, African-Americans have had a long history of participating in organized labor movements. Issaic Myers was one of nine delegates to the convention of the National Labor Union in 1869.<sup>5</sup> He made a moving speech urging Whites and African-Americans to cooperate. In December of 1869, African-Americans organized the Negro National Labor Union. During the 1880's about 75,000 African-Americans were members of the Knights of Labor.<sup>6</sup>

Even though most African-Americans have supported capitalism, there has been a small minority of African-American thinkers who have blamed this economic system for the problems of American society.

In 1896 the Reverend Reverdy C. Ransom emphasized the connection between racism and economic exploitation. Ransom understood the major problem of African-Americans as the labor needs of the capitalist economy. For Ransom, the slave trade was purely a commercial transaction that fulfilled the demand for a large population of manual laborers. When slavery was no longer legal, African-Americans became the slaves of society, and the economic and industrial outcasts of society.<sup>7</sup> After the Civil War, the African-American labor force was by and large not needed.

Ransom was also an advocate of socialism:

That the Negro will enthusiastically espouse the cause of socialism we cannot doubt. Social and industrial oppression have been his portion for centuries. When he comes to realize that socialism offers him freedom of opportunity to cooperate with all persons upon terms of equality in every avenue of life, he will not be slow to accept his social emancipation.<sup>8</sup>

W. E. B. DuBois was another African-American who openly attacked capitalism. His statement on the Negro and socialism sums up his overall view:

In the socialistic trend thus indicated lies the one great hope of the Negro American. We have been thrown by strange historic reasons into the hands of the capitalist hitherto. We have been objects of dole and charity, and despised accordingly. We have been made tools of oppression against the working man's cause -- the puppets and playthings of the idle rich. Fools! We must awake! Not in a renaissance among ourselves of the evils of 'Get and Grab not' in private hoarding, squeezing and cheating.<sup>9</sup>

DuBois saw the African-American skilled laborer as a gift of the capitalist class. On the one hand, the skilled African-American laborer was trained in Negro industrial schools. These schools were founded and sustained by White philanthropists, who trained the African-Americans to adapt to the demands of those who controlled industry.

The schools taught agriculture and industrial skills; however, they neglected to take into account the organization of industry, capital and credit, the rise of trade unions and the future of democracy in industry.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, White laborers were organized politically and were in opposition to African-American skilled laborers. Organized labor in the United States excluded African-Americans from trade unions. As a result, African-Americans looked to White capitalists for emancipation and did not focus on the relationship between capitalists and laborers.<sup>11</sup>

Oliver Cromwell Cox is another who also took a stance against capitalism. In his work, Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics, he studied three systems of stratification. In his discussion on stratification he made two very strong links. These were: (1) between caste and race and (2) between social class and political class. What is important here is his link between social and political class. Cox sees political democracy as the war zone between the ruling class and the proletariat (both groups use politics as a means for gaining power).<sup>2</sup> The proletariat wants to use this power to change existing economic systems and conditions.

Cox did not stress the relationship between race and capitalism. There was only a small section of his work directed to this relationship. For Cox, racial prejudice is mainly displaced aggression.<sup>13</sup> When African-Americans were free in the South, this lowered the value of the labor of the southern White worker. The White worker's aggressiveness toward southern African-Americans was really aimed at the capitalist class. Cox saw this and other forms of racism, especially that of

the Whites toward Oriental immigrants on the West coast, as conflict between labor and capital.

One of the major experiences that reiterates concern for this issue is the difference growing up in a traditional Middle Class community and a Lower Class community. The author found differences in the lifestyles and ideologies of Lower and Middle Class African-Americans while growing up in the late 1960s and early 1970s, experiencing both situations.

"Black Power" and "Black Awareness" became a major theme in the Lower Class community. The "Afro" hairstyle and the "dashiki" were extremely popular. Friends would greet each other with a raised fist, saying "Black Power." However, Heritage Valley was a predominantly White Middle Class community until about 1972. African-Americans began to move in and Whites penetrated into suburbia. There was now a different theme in this community. African-American teachers warned students to stop acting "Black" or stop acting their "color" when they stepped out of line. African-American high schools argued for years over whether a course on African-American history should be offered.

There was one basic difference in the attitudes of these communities. The first community felt that the American system was designed to bring African-Americans down. The children in that community idolized movie characters like "Goldie," "the Max," and "Superfly" -- people who seemed to be "getting over" in a system designed to take African-Americans under. The second community seemed to believe that since the laws of racial segregation have been eliminated, African-Americans can achieve equality in American society. If African-Americans adopt the ideas and values of White America, then they would reap their share of the American dream.

Summary

The debate as to whether capitalism is advantageous or exploitive of African-Americans was most argued at the turn of the century. African-American businessmen favored capitalism as a means of uplifting the race. However, others rejected capitalism, blaming it for the economic exploitation of African-Americans. Views on capitalism have largely shaped the way African-Americans have responded to American society. Those who favor capitalism tend to be more concerned with fighting racist laws, and those who reject it work to change the social structure. The next chapter will examine how African-Americans' views on capitalism relate to the church.



## CHAPTER VII

### THE MINISTRY ISSUE

African-Americans' perception of capitalism is not simply a secular concern. It has a direct bearing on the African-American church. The African-American church is an extension of the African-American community. Do their particular views on capitalism influence church attendance and involvement? Do those who support American capitalism attend different churches, become involved in different activities of the church, cling to different theological views or have different expectations from those who oppose American capitalism? Is the African-American church split based on different economic ideologies?

This is an important inquiry because the Marxist framework suggests that capitalism is based on an economic relationship that is unequal. One class has greater opportunity and control of the wealth producing property than another. As a result, the Lower Class is locked into poverty. However, those who are not sympathetic to capitalism feel that there is equal opportunity in America and an individual's success depends on hard work.

One might suppose that if the African-American church adopts the attitude that there are no oppressive elements in American capitalism, then one might also believe that African-Americans have equal

opportunity to obtain success as do Whites. This assumption might also lead the church to believe that failure to live a productive life is dependent on low motivation and a poor individual effort. If this were so the model of ministry a church might adopt would be extremely individualistic. The church would not see individuals caught up in life's web, but individuals who lack the will, morals, courage, and motivation to succeed.

Those churches that practice such an individualistic stance on religiosity tend to offer outreach (if it can be called that) only for themselves. Even if there are outreach programs for the community, those programs tend to serve as an indication of the good will or paternalistic offerings of the congregation rather than as an indication of how much love and compassion the congregation displays. A survey on African-American church outreach programs discovered that most churches engaged in outreach ministry in order to fulfill their own sense of Christian responsibility. Another consequence of individualistic religion is its lack of advocacy. This type of church behavior is not concerned with correcting social problems. In fact, this church tends to adopt the values of the dominant culture. This type of religion tends to suggest that each individual is responsible for his/her own salvation, which is parallel to the Laissez-faire attitude of capitalism (every man for self).

On the other hand, those African-American churches that are more aware of the oppressive elements in the capitalistic system will more readily see social forces contributing to individual circumstances.

They will see the individual against the background of his/her environment. As a result, this church's model for ministry can become collective or community oriented, and sees individuals responding to life situations. Even though some people work just as hard as others, they still cannot succeed in a society that does not provide for them an equal and just opportunity. Even salvation can become a community quest. The destiny of one's brothers and sisters is, in some way, tied up in one's own destiny. Because one has a responsibility to God, one has a responsibility to his/her brothers and sisters.

This type of church has a commitment to the community. The church is the community because each individual brings to the church his/her community in the form of needs, ideals, lifestyles, failures, and successes. In order for the church to fulfill its mission, it must deal with the individual's community.

In community churches, outreach is done in response to the needs of those individuals in the community, and the same systematic needs that transcend individuals. The community provides the background for understanding the pressures, outlook, lifestyles, conditions and aspirations of the individual, as well as those social conditions not apparent from an individual perspective. The focus for this church is not individual salvation, but can be one of collective salvation and liberation.

Advocacy is a major part of the outreach ministry of this type of church. This church tries to become a positive image for the community. If it can help solve some of the problems confronting the

community, then it can shape the lives of those individuals in a positive way that live in the community.

By addressing this issue, the African-American church can begin to understand where it is in terms of effective and intentional ministry. What model of ministry might most effectively fulfill the needs of the African-American church? Is there more than one? Now the church is able to examine itself and move forward. Is it effective? Does it parallel an understanding of Christ's ministry? Is it short-sighted? Is it the best possible alternative?

#### Summary

African-Americans' views of capitalism can have an effect on the type of ministry in which the church engages. Those who accept capitalism might develop an individualistic, religious outlook; whereas, those who reject capitalism might develop a more social or communal religion. The next chapter will explain those theories that inform the hypotheses for the survey on African-Americans' views on capitalism.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THEORIES AND HYPOTHESES

#### Theories

The study has been informed by several theories that were instrumental in developing the hypotheses used in the survey. Five major theories will be outlined in this section and an explanation as to the importance of each to the overall study.

The Marxist model has been the major theoretical framework that has informed this approach. One of the most important points that Marx makes is that individuals spend the major portion of their time earning a living. One's position to the wealth producing property plays a key role in other decisions about life.<sup>1</sup>

In the Marxist framework, any analysis of social class in America is an analysis of social inequality. The main distinction between the two major classes is ownership and control, to be more precise inequality and lack of power. Inequality of economic power suggests inequality of opportunity.<sup>2</sup> In a traditional Marxist model, Marx sees the state as an agent that maintains the capitalist system of inequality. Its role is to preserve the social and economic order that arises out of the capitalist mode of production.<sup>3</sup> The Marxist framework is important to this study because it suggests that there are systematic problems

in capitalist society. The problem has to do with how wealth is distributed. The distribution of wealth in capitalist society prohibits certain groups from reaping the full benefits life offers.

The next theory that informs this study is that of Joe Holland and Peter Henriot. They argue that American capitalism was a developing economy and each stage was characterized by a different relationship between capital, labor and technology.<sup>4</sup> They show how the Catholic church adjusted to these changing demands on its parishioners. This theory provides a basis for examining how the African-American church responded to American capitalism. They began with only three categories and the writer added the fourth (British Imperial Capitalism). This period proved to be the most crucial one for understanding the African-American church.

Another theory that informed the study is that of Ida Mukenge. She suggests that the process of urbanization was critical for the African-American church. During urbanization social classes developed, and the church shifted from community outreach to inwardness.<sup>5</sup>

Hans Baer adds by categorizing four types of African-American churches. Mainstream or established sects are the first category and is largely made up of Middle Class members.<sup>6</sup> They have accepted the capitalist system and work toward the "American Dream." The second category is comprised of conversionist sects, who cling to puritan values and other worldly salvation.<sup>7</sup> The Lower Class usually turns to this type of church. The third category is messianic or nationalist sects. These religious groups reject the values of the dominant society and establish counter cultures.<sup>8</sup> Maturgical/manipulationist sects

are in the fourth category. These sects promise the benefits of the "American Dream" through "magico-religious" acts and positive thinking.

Baer's and Mukenge's theories are important to this study because they suggest that the African-American community is stratified along class lines and status affects ideology and religious involvement. The questionnaire will be designed to study this relationship.

The final theory is by Joan Huber and William Form. They explain that the dominant ideology of the United States stresses at least three notions.<sup>9</sup> First, there is equality of opportunity in America. Education is free and someone willing to work hard can take advantage of those opportunities and succeed. Secondly, American ideology suggests that success depends on how hard an individual works. Lazy people are not successful because they are not willing to work hard. Thirdly, the democratic system of government is fair. Within this system each individual has a voice and through active participation can effect change in the system if the need arises. Huber and Form provide the study with basic notions that support the ideals of capitalism.

### Hypotheses

This study is guided by four hypotheses. First, as African-Americans acquire higher social class status, the more likely they are to agree with the values of American capitalism. Second, the higher the social class of an individual the more likely that individual will attend mainline denominational churches. Third, the lower the social class status of an individual the more likely that individual will attend Pentecostal, storefronts or Holiness churches. Finally, it is hypothesized that as people become more affluent they become more individualistic,

and as people become more individualistic their religious activities become privatized.

### Summary

There are five theories that inform the hypotheses. These theories are concerned with: (1) the capitalist system as a producer of inequality of opportunity; (2) the changing nature of the relationship between labor, technology and capital throughout American history; (3) the affects of social status on the ideology and church involvement of African-Americans; and (4) ideas that support capitalism. Now that the hypotheses have been formulated, the study will proceed to define and operationalize the key variables of these hypotheses.



## CHAPTER IX

### OPERATIONALIZATION OF VARIABLES

This study is designed to examine how African-Americans view capitalism as a system and whether their views on capitalism affect their involvement in the church. This question will be examined in terms of socio-economic status in the African-American community. Within the scope of the study there are five major concepts. These concepts have been clarified in the first four endnotes corresponding to parts of the introduction. This chapter will show how these concepts will be measured.

The first concept is Afro-American. Webster defines an Afro-American as "an American of African descent."<sup>1</sup> This study shall determine whether an individual is an Afro-American by asking that individual to state his/her racial identity. Another common name is African-American.

The second concept crucial to our concern is view. What is meant by the word view is ideas about a certain event or concept. These ideas can have one of two attributes. The ideas can be negative or they can be positive. The study will determine whether the individual responded favorably or negatively about ideas and concepts that support capitalism.

The third concept used in this study is capitalism. Capitalism supports free enterprise. Free enterprise is the theory of capital

goods being controlled by private or corporate ownership rather than the state. Each individual competes in the marketplace for the goods and services. Wealth is distributed through this competition. Capitalism evolves around a money-commodity-money relationship.<sup>2</sup> Money is used to create a commodity and the commodity is sold for a greater amount of money than originally invested. A person favorable to capitalism will respond affirmatively to three positions. These are: (1) everyone has equal opportunity in America; (2) success is determined by how hard a person works; and (3) the democratic process is fair.

The fourth concept is social class. Coleman and Cressey define social class as a "category of people with similar shares of things that are valued in a society."<sup>3</sup> Three characteristics of a social class are the amount of money made annually, educational level, and the level of status shared in common by a group of people. In this study we will concentrate on these three categories. Individuals will be questioned to determine their income, educational level, and the number of status organizations to which they belong.

Church involvement is the last concept the survey will study. This variable will be studied in three ways: (1) the frequency of involvement or how often an individual attends church and the number of organizations in which the individual is involved; (2) This study will determine the type of church the individual attends. Churches will be divided into four categories organized by Hans Baer. These categories are: [1] mainline denominations; [2] nationalistic churches; [3] conversionist churches; and [4] manipulation sects. The questionnaire

will ask each individual to give the denomination of the church he/she attends and to describe the beliefs of the majority of the people that attend that church. (3) The quality of involvement in the life of the church will be studied. The concept of privatization will be introduced. Privatization is the process whereby religion becomes only a private concern. That is, it does not govern our involvement in other aspects of our lives. The study will examine why people get involved in the church and to what extent does this affect their involvement in other areas of their life.

#### Summary

This chapter has provided an explanation of the key concepts used in this study. It also explained how these concepts are going to be measured in the interview. The next chapter will describe the procedure of the project.

## CHAPTER X

### OUTLINE OF THE PROJECT

The framework utilized in a study done by Joan Huber and William Form entitled Income and Ideology (1973) will help us outline our project. Huber and Form wanted to know whether people agreed with the dominant ideology in America. The dominant ideology stresses: (1) that there is equality of opportunity in America; (2) success depends on how hard an individual works; and (3) the democratic system of government is fair.

Huber and Form expected to find in their study that those who profit from the system are more likely to agree with the dominant ideology. They studied a small town in Michigan. They divided the population into three categories: poor, middle income, and rich. A rich person was one who had an income of \$25,000 or more in 1973. A poor family had an income less than \$2,000 annually and up to \$7,000 annually for families with 11 members or more. Middle income was anything between rich and poor.

In questioning this population, Huber and Form wanted to find out if people tended to view success individually or systematically. Individually means that the success of an individual depends on how hard that individual works. Systematic means that there are certain forces within the economic and social structure that limit certain

groups' chances to achieve and enhance other groups' chances. Success is measured in terms of monetary rewards (wealth).

This is important for this study in that the Marxist framework suggests that within capitalist society there is economic inequality. This economic inequality cripples equality of opportunity. Members in the upper class who own and control the means of production are more likely to be successful than a person from a poor family even though both work equally as hard. This is the question this study is concerned with in relation to African-Americans.

In Huber and Form's work they defined the dominant ideology as the ideology of those who have benefited from the existing economic order. This study is asking: "Is there a difference between the ideology of African-Americans who have accumulated wealth and those who have not?"

From January until March, interviews in each of the communities described in the setting were conducted each Saturday using two to three hours for interview time. The interviewer brought a questionnaire and a tape recorder to document each interview. The recorder sped up the interview by recording qualitative answers to some of the questions. [The questionnaire is in Appendix 12.] Before entering any community, each household visited was selected randomly. The system that was used was "two rolls of the dice." The first roll indicated the home where the interviewing began. The second roll indicated the frequency of homes visited. For example, if four showed after the second roll, then every fourth home was interviewed.

The information was evaluated in two ways. The major evaluation criterion was quantitative. Each response was counted and the response that showed up most often was more significant. There were only a few questions that required qualitative answers. These are explanations as to why people feel the way they do.

The responses were categorized by communities. Community I's responses were compared to Community II's responses and so on.

### Summary

This chapter has outlined the procedure of the project as best possible. If any other procedural problems appear during the interviewing process, the interviewer will deal with it in the best manner possible without altering the confidence of the sample results. The conclusion will discuss any procedural problems occurring in the field. The next chapter will evaluate the data collected and make conclusive statements.

## CHAPTER XI

### COMMUNITY ANALYSIS

The results of the survey were drawn from 104 interviews conducted in four separate communities. There were 150 contacts made; however, 27 were not able to be reached and 19 refused to be interviewed. The study included 50 homes in Communities I, II, and III. Forty-one interviews were completed in Community I, 26 in Community II, and 37 in Community III.

The author of the study had originally planned to contact 100 homes in each of the four communities described in the setting; however, the lack of time would not permit this. Therefore, only 50 contacts were made in each community and no one was interviewed in Community IV at all. Community IV resembled Community III so closely that the decision was made to drop Community IV which will not harm the significance of the data.

#### Community I

Hollywood Courts, a housing project for low rent families, has been designated as Community I. The population is mostly unemployed and only one-fourth of the residents earn over \$10,000 annually. The fifty percent of the population that do work are employed in mainly construction, government, manufacturing and service type jobs. Most of the residents are housekeepers, cooks, steel workers, etc. However,

there are a few teacher assistants, paraprofessionals, firemen and managers. Appendix 12 provides a statistical description of Community I.

The residents of Hollywood Courts tend to feel that there is equality of opportunity in America. They understand that the success of an individual depends on how hard that individual works and that poor people can pull themselves out of their condition through hard work and determination. However, they see poor people working equally as hard as rich people or harder. This seems to contradict their belief in hard work. If hard work makes one successful and the poor work harder than the rich, then it should be concluded that the poor are more successful than the rich. However, this is not true. The writer interprets this as the poor having hope and pride in themselves. They feel that their situation is solvable and all hope of achieving success is not lost.

The people in Hollywood Courts have little faith in the democratic process. Most of them feel that voting makes a difference, but everyone does not have equal influence in governmental action. The residents of Hollywood Courts would probably agree with C. Wright Mills in his assertion that government is run by a small group of elites that make the laws. Often these laws do not favor African-Americans. Appendixes 13, 14 and 15 provide information on Community I's views concerning opportunity, success and democracy.

A large percentage of the residents do not attend church. Those who hold membership in a local church tend to be Baptist. Others attend non-denominational, healing temples, metaphysical temples, Seventh



Day Adventist, Pentecostal and Methodist churches. The overwhelming theological orientation expressed by those living in Hollywood Courts is conversionist. They feel that the most important aspect of Christianity is the conversion experience. They also agree to prosperity theology and manipulationism. Prosperity theology suggests that God blesses individuals through material rewards -- cars, money, clothes, etc. -- and one who agrees with manipulationism feels that through strong faith in God they can gain superhuman powers. However, they did not show strong feelings toward nationalism in the church.

There is a tendency for this community to be privatized in their religious outlook. However, most agree that the church should be more involved in the social, political and economic affairs of the community. Appendixes 16 and 17 describe church involvement and theological orientation in Community I.

### Community II

Carrol Heights was the area examined in Community II. This is a Lower Middle Class community in northwest Atlanta. The majority of the households are headed by both spouses who hold at least a high school education. Only eight percent of this population are unemployed and fifteen percent retired. Those that are employed are working in a variety of fields ranging from engineering to childcare work. Most work as maids, nurses, government employees or skilled labor. The residents of Carrol Heights are not likely to belong to a social organization. Appendix 18 provides a statistical description of this community.

This community tends to be somewhat mixed on the question concerning equality of opportunity in America. Most of the residents would agree that every individual has equal opportunity to get ahead. However, only about one-half of them feel that everyone has an equal opportunity to go to college. They also have faith in hard work and motivation as means to success.

The residents of Carrol Heights show little confidence in the democratic system. Although most of them feel that voting can make a difference, they believe that everyone does not have equal influence in the governmental process and that either the elites or big business really runs the government. Most of them vote on every occasion and one-third vote sporadically. Appendixes 19, 20, and 21 provide information on Community II's views about capitalism.

The majority of the population maintains a membership in a church and attend regularly. Some (26 percent) are highly active members. Most of those who hold membership do so in the Baptist church, but many belong to Holiness and Pentecostal churches. Approximately 16 percent belong to either the African Methodist Episcopal, Christian Methodist Episcopal or the United Methodist church. This population is neutral on nationalism in the church. The dominant theological orientation expressed is conversionist. They feel that the church should also be more communal. Appendixes 22 and 23 describe church involvement and theological orientation of Community II.

### Community III

The study included interviews in Heritage Valley, a small subdivision in Community III. This is predominantly a Middle to Upper

Middle Class community with most of the residents earning between \$35,000 to \$75,000 annually. Government employees were counted most frequently. There were also lawyers, medical technologists, and self-employed businessmen. Most of the households are headed by both spouses with a college or graduate degree. Over one-half of the heads of households belong to a social organization. Appendix 24 provides a statistical description of Community III.

Persons living in Heritage Valley feel that there is not equal opportunity in America. They agree that hard work is the key to success; however, hard work is important for poor people. They strongly agree that poor people can work hard and uplift themselves, but hard work is not always the key to success for rich people. The Upper Middle Class community would probably feel that the democratic form of government is not fair and that people with money often get their way. They believe that voting is important and are more likely to participate in local and national elections. However, they feel that government is run mainly by small elite groups or big corporations. Appendixes 25, 26, and 27 provide information on this community's views on opportunity, hard work, and democracy.

The residents of Heritage Valley are strong supporters of the church. A large portion of the population are highly active in their churches, that is: (1) they attend almost every Sunday; (2) they belong to organizations in the church; and (3) they hold leadership positions in the church. The majority of this population belong to established denominations--especially Baptist and United Methodist churches. There is a strong tendency toward prosperity, nationalistic, and conversionist

theologies. There is also a strong movement toward privatization. They believe that the church should be involved in the community but most feel that their religion should not impact on any government or business decisions or the workplace. It seems that their understanding of community involvement is participating in charity organizations rather than political, social or economic advocacy. Appendixes 28 and 29 describe church involvement and theological orientation of Heritage Valley.

#### A Comparison of the Communities

It should be apparent that each community represents a different social class group of the African-American community. Appendixes 30, 31, and 32 compare the income, education, and organizational affiliation of the three communities' residents. As income rises so does the level of education. Community III is involved in a considerably higher number of social organizations than the other communities. There is an indication that as African-Americans move up the socio-economic ladder the more likely they are to feel that there is no equality of opportunity in America. This supports Wilson Record's notion that the Middle and Upper Classes set themselves apart from other African-Americans based on their achievements, but at the same time, are more conscious of the oppressive forces that prohibit them from achieving the total benefits of American society.

There is also a positive correlation between social class and the belief in the democratic process. As African-Americans move up in social status their confidence in the democratic system of government

increases and their participation in the democratic process does the same. This affirms C. Eric Lincoln's opinion that the Middle Class attempts to change the present system through participation in the system.

The residents of Community II are more likely to participate in church organizations and hold leadership positions in the church than persons in Community I. Moreover, Heritage Valley showed the greatest level of participation and leadership in the church. The writer contends that the African-American church is largely becoming a Middle Class movement; that is, the Lower Class do not attend church or do not hold leadership positions, if they do attend. Also, as their social status increases, attendance in mainline denominations increases. Although the chart in Appendix 33 shows that 83 percent of the persons in Hollywood Courts attend mainline denominations, the writer feels confident that this pattern holds true. The writer bases this conclusion on the fact that 92 percent of those persons in Community I who belong to mainline denominations belong to the Baptist church. Because of the independent nature of the Baptist church, it can take on several different characteristics. The writer suggests that a large percentage of the Baptist churches attended by persons in Hollywood Courts have taken on Holiness and Pentecostal church characteristics. This is supported by the fact that Community I is largely oriented toward prosperity and manipulationist theologies.

Communities I and III have a stronger movement toward prosperity theology than Carrol Heights. When the social class of a community increases so does nationalistic ideologies. Record explains that race

pride is a defensive mechanism responding to oppression in White society, and the African-American Middle and Upper Middle Classes tend to come into contact with oppressive forces more often than any other class. There is a negative correlation between the social class of a community and agreement to conversionist theology. Community I favors manipulationist theology more than the other communities.

The religion of Communities I and III are more privatized than Carrol Heights. The writer suggests that privatization takes on two forms. On the one hand, the poor do not have the means of gaining wealth, power, and prestige. As a result, they place more value in things that are obtainable -- religion. On the other hand, the church can stress individualism and individual salvation to such an extent that it fails to see the individual as a part of the larger society and as being responsible to that society. This seems to be the trend in Middle Class churches. Wilson conceptualized the first form of privatization as transvaluation and the second as individuation.

A careful analysis of information gathered through interviews in three African-American communities representing different social class levels reveals: (1) as African-Americans acquire higher social status the more likely they are to disagree with the values of American capitalism; (2) the higher the social status of an individual the more likely that individual will attend mainline denominational churches; (3) the lower the social class status of an individual the more likely that individual will not attend church; and (4) the greater degree of poverty or affluence of an individual the more likely privatized their religious activities become.

The writer originally hypothesized: (1) as African-Americans acquire higher social class status, the more likely they are to agree with the values of American capitalism; (2) the higher the social class of an individual the more likely that individual will attend mainline denominational churches; (3) the lower the social class of an individual the more likely that individual will attend Pentecostal, storefront, or Holiness churches; and (4) the higher the social class the more privatized an individual's religion will become.

It was discovered that the second and fourth hypotheses held true. However, the first hypothesis found that African-Americans disagree with the values of American capitalism as social status increases. The third hypothesis discovered that the Lower Class is more likely to be Baptist. However, more information is needed to determine whether these Baptist churches display mainline denominational or Holiness and Pentecostal characteristics.

The conclusion of this paper will draw together the importance of each chapter to the overall paper.

## CHAPTER XII

### CONCLUSION

The overall study was designed to study the viability of the Marxist Theoretical Framework in the African-American community. The study is divided into two parts. The first part was designed to examine the history of African-Americans and their church using the Marxist Framework. The second part is an empirical study of three communities in Atlanta.

The first part starts by explaining Marx's Theory of Social Reality. Marx sees humankind as economic beings. Individuals' main concerns are to produce food, clothing and shelter to sustain life. In sustaining life, individuals enter into relationships with each other. Society is the sum of these relationships. Chapter III goes on to show that throughout American history, the African-American community and church have had to respond to American capitalism. The African-American community showed different characteristics and ideologies in each stage of American capitalism. Chapter IV also shows that urbanization brought about a new distinct class differentiation in the African-American community. The African-American community and church are split along class lines. Class differentiation also affects the ideology of the community and church.



Part Two tests this hypothesis by examining three communities in the metropolitan Atlanta area. Chapter V shows that these communities represent different social classes. Chapters VI and VII explain the importance of the study for the African-American community and church. The African-American's views on capitalism have a direct relationship to the types of ideas of advancement. The churches' ideas of capitalism might affect the types of programs, goals and theology the church might adopt.

Chapters VIII, IX, and X set up the questions to study the relationship between views on capitalism, social class and church involvement. Chapter XI records the findings, which suggest that social class does affect African-Americans' ideologies and church involvement. The findings are consistent with the Marxist Framework and is an indication that this framework deserves much more consideration by African-American theologians.

## NOTES

### CHAPTER I

1. Webster defines an African-American or Afro-American as "an American of African descent." This study shall determine whether an individual is an African-American by asking that individual to state his/her racial identity. Henry Bosely Woolf, ed. Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Company, 1977), 21.

2. "African-American Christian Marxists" is a term conceptualized by the writer. It refers to Americans of African descent who affirm the Christian faith and are also committed to Marx's Theoretical Framework for critical evaluation of social reality in capitalist society. Capitalism supports free enterprise. Free enterprise is the theory of capital goods being controlled by private or corporate ownership rather than the state. Each individual competes in the marketplace for goods and services. Wealth is distributed through this competition. Capitalism evolves around a money-commodity-money relationship. Money is used to create a commodity and the commodity is sold for a greater amount of money than originally invested.

3. "A social class is a category of people with similar shares of things that are valued in a society." Three categories of a social class are the amount of money made annually, educational level and status associations. This study will concentrate on these three categories. James William Coleman and Donald R. Cressey, Social Problems (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 561.

4. "Church involvement" refers to the frequency and quality of participation in a religious body. The study will focus on church involvement in three ways: (1) how often an individual attends church and the number of organizations in which the individual is involved; (2) the type of church an individual attends; and (3) whether involvement in the church affects an individual's involvement in other areas of his/her life.

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Henderson H. Donald, The Negro Freedman: Life Conditions of the American Negro in the Early Years after Emancipation (New York: Henry Schuman, 1952), 12.
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20. E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Church in America (New York: Schocken Books, 1963), 16. Frazier conceptualized the term "Invisible Church."

21. Mukenge, Black Church in Urban America, 27.

22. Ibid., 28.

23. Frazier, The Negro Church in America, 17-18. Frazier conceptualized the term "Institutional Church."

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37. Ibid., 55-56.

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5. Ida Rousseau Mukenge, The Black Church in Urban America: A Case Study in Political Economy (Lanham, N.Y.: University Press of America, 1983), 45.
6. Hans Baer, The Black Spiritual Movements: A Religious Response to Racism (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 160-161.
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9. Joan Huber and William H. Form, Income and Ideology: An Analysis of the American Political Formula (New York: Free Press, 1973), 4.

CHAPTER IX

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2. Charles H. Anderson, The Political Economy of Social Class (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974), 14.
3. James William Coleman and Donald R. Cressey, Social Problems (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 561.

## **A P P E N D I X E S**

APPENDIX 1  
COMPARISON OF ATLANTA'S POPULATION  
CHARACTERISTICS WITH THE NATIONAL POPULATION

	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>PERCENT</u>
1. RACE/ETHNIC		
Black	303,508	51.5
		U.S. 11.7
2. AGE		
Under 18	159,162	27.0
		U.S. 28.1
65 and Over	61,456	10.4
		U.S. 11.3
3. MARITAL STATUS		
Divorce Rate	2,936	5.0
		U.S. 5.2
4. EDUCATION		
College	79,927	23.0
		U.S. 16.2
High School	92,138	26.5
		U.S. 18.3
5. HEALTH		
Population per Physician	2,167	272
		U.S. 632
6. HOUSING		
Substandard	3,605	1.5
		U.S. 2.6
7. OCUPATION		
Agriculture & Mining	2,167	0.9
		U.S. 4.3
Manufacturing	34,400	14.4
		U.S. 23.8

# APPENDIX 1 CONTINUED

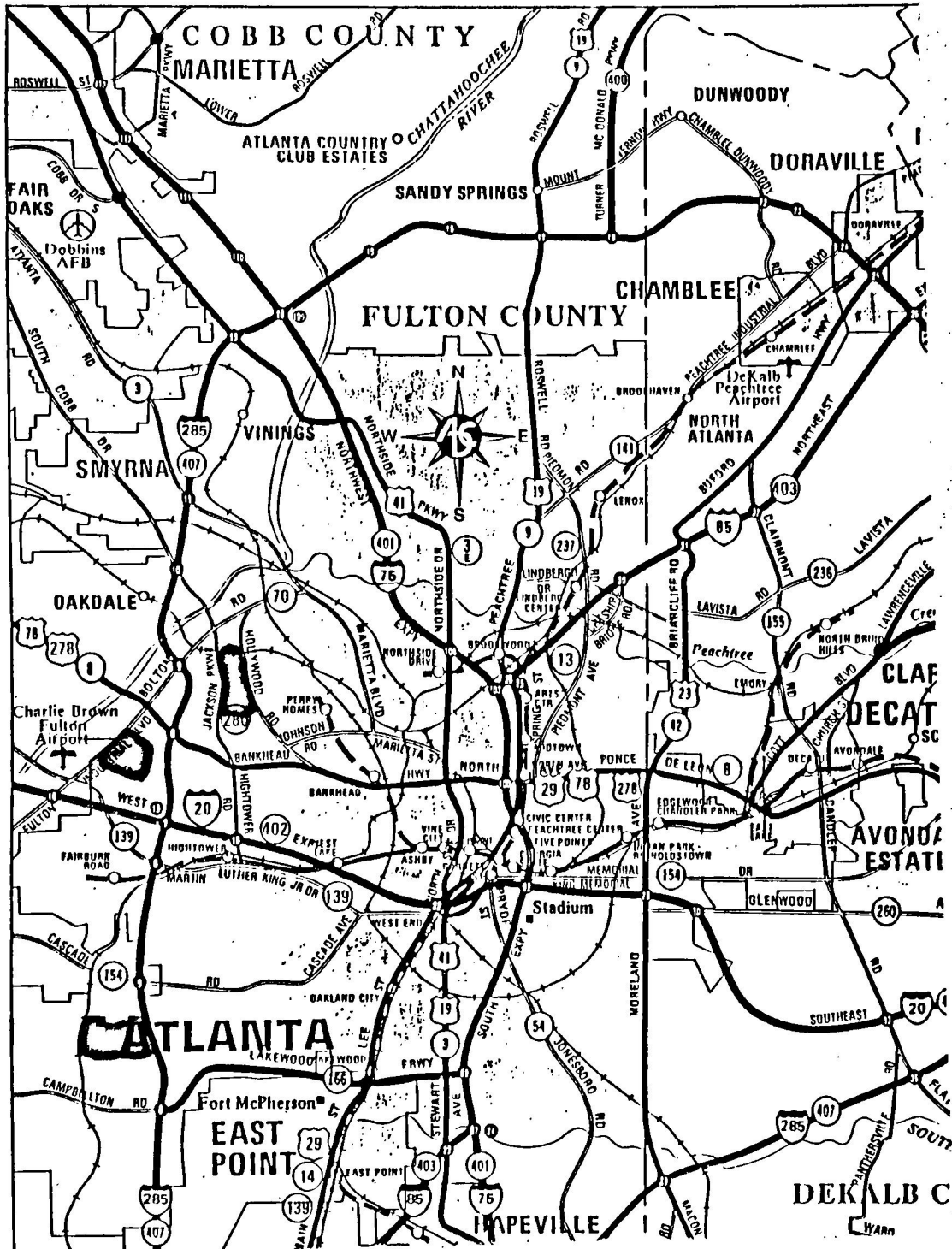
	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>PERCENT</u>
Government	16,039	6.5
		U.S. 5.6
Other	104,886	42.7
		U.S. 35.8
Commuters	49,665	20.2
		U.S. 20.0
8. FAMILY INCOME		
Over \$25,000	48,849	33.7
		U.S. 35.5
Poverty	25,335	17.5
		U.S. 9.6
9. RELIGION		
Catholics	30,420	5.2
		U.S. 21.0
Other Bodies	414,711	70.3
		U.S. 21.0
Unchurched	144,773	24.5
		U.S. 41.1

APPENDIX 2  
CHURCH MEMBERS REPORTED IN ATLANTA - 1980

Southern Baptist Convention	95,542
United Methodist	56,857
Catholic	30,420
Presbyterian Church U.S.	20,954
Episcopal	16,529
Chr. Chs. & Chs. Cr.	8,788
American Baptist U.S.A.	8,747
Christian Methodist Episcopal	7,863
Church of God (CLEVE)	6,756
Reformed Judaism	1,490
Assembly of God	1,358
United Presby. Church U.S.A.	1,330
Salvation Army	1,128
United Church of Christ	1,039
Lutheran-MO Synod	927
African Methodist Episcopal	910
Presbyterian of America	755
Church of the Nazarene	416
Evan. Lutheran Assn.	323
Free Methodist	318
Metro Comm. Churches	300
American Lutheran Church	254
Church Brethren	250
S.D.A.	168
Congregational Holiness Church	90
Estimated Other	163,009

# APPENDIX 3

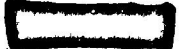
## LOCATION OF THE FOUR ATLANTA NEIGHBORHOODS UTILIZED IN STUDY



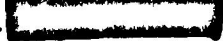
COMMUNITY I.



COMMUNITY II.



COMMUNITY III.



COMMUNITY IV.

## APPENDIX 4

EMPLOYMENT

Employment Area	Community I	Community II	Community III	Community IV
Total Employed	1,363	1,835	1,168	321
Government Jobs	982	605	269	165
Construction	9	498	10	7
Manufacturing	198	0	0	0
Wholesale trade	117	29	4	0
Retail Trade	14	68	384	105
F.I.R.E.	22	42	41	2
Service	21	60	163	42
T.C.U.	0	533	275	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	22	0

#### APPENDIX 4 CONTINUED

\*Special note on employment - Government Jobs include all government jobs, State, Local and Federal, regardless of type, level or salary of the position. Miscellaneous industries include agriculture, forestry, fishing and mining. T.C.U. represents Transportation, Communication and Utilities. F.I.R.E. represents Finance, Insurance and Real Estate.



# APPENDIX 5

## AGE AND SEX

AGE AND SEX	Community I	Community II	Community III	Community IV
0 - 4 yrs	542	526	926	623
Black Males	271	260	465	298
Black Females	265	261	447	305
5 - 14 yrs	925	919	1,784	1,104
Black Males	439	469	878	535
Black Females	474	445	888	542
15 - 19 yrs	441	448	816	548
Black Males	210	263	404	256
Black Females	226	235	403	275
20 - 34 yrs	1,433	1,581	2,685	1,684
Black Males	640	721	992	711
Black Females	779	856	1,617	859
35 - 64 yrs	1,180	1,364	3,000	1,813
Black Males	456	513	1,230	703
Black Females	705	843	1,599	915
Over 65 Yrs	309	378	395	261
Black Males	114	137	69	44
Black Females	167	235	139	81

# APPENDIX 6

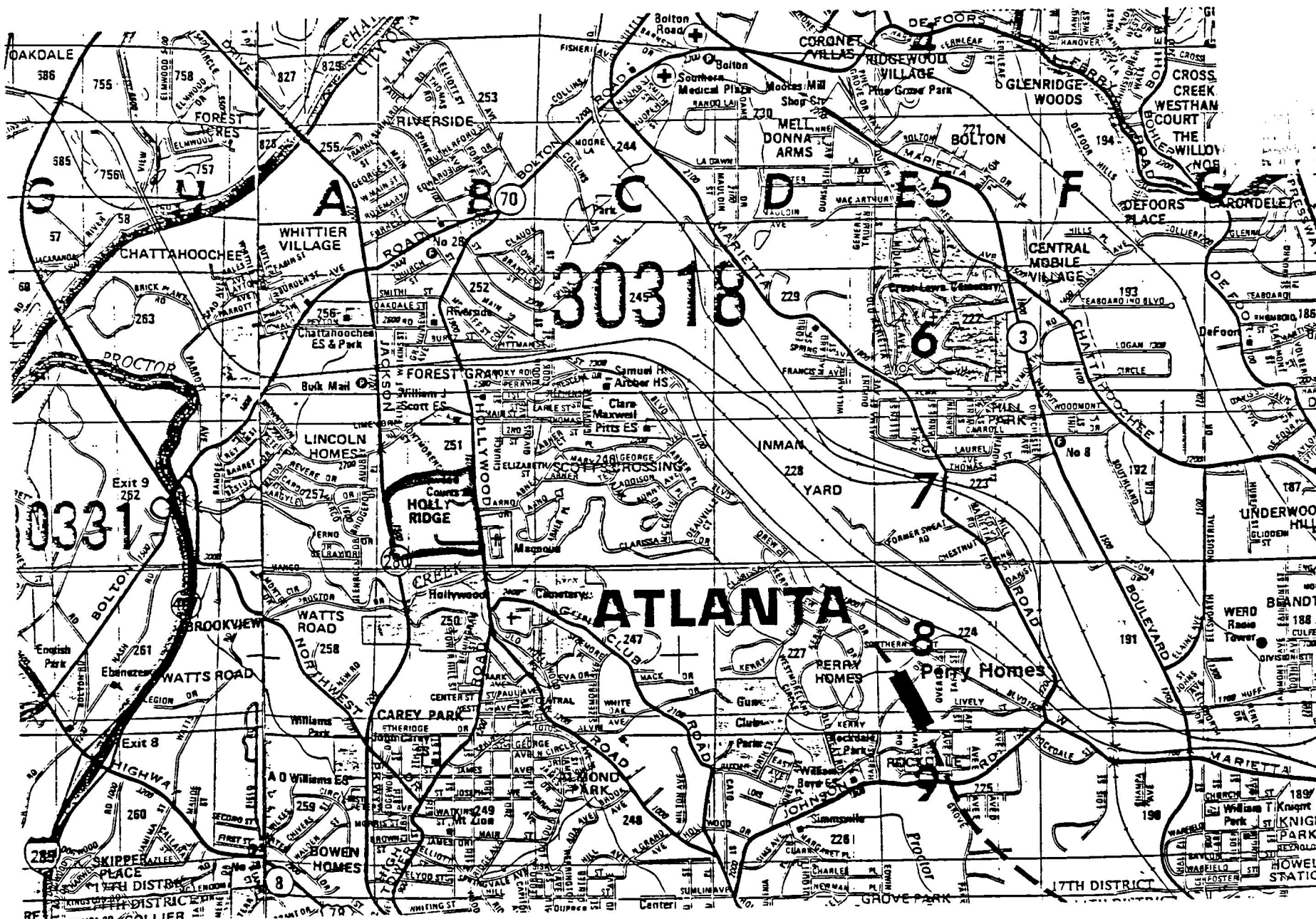
## INCOME

Annual Income	Community I	Community II	Community III	Community IV
0- 14,999	1,112	1,064	1.762	898
15,000 - 24,999	190	347	841	428
25,000- 34,999	77	119	489	260
35,000 - 49,000	43	45	296	159
50,000 - 74,999	7	0	57	34
OVER 75,000	0	0	5	13

\*Special Note - Income is derived by households

# APPENDIX 7

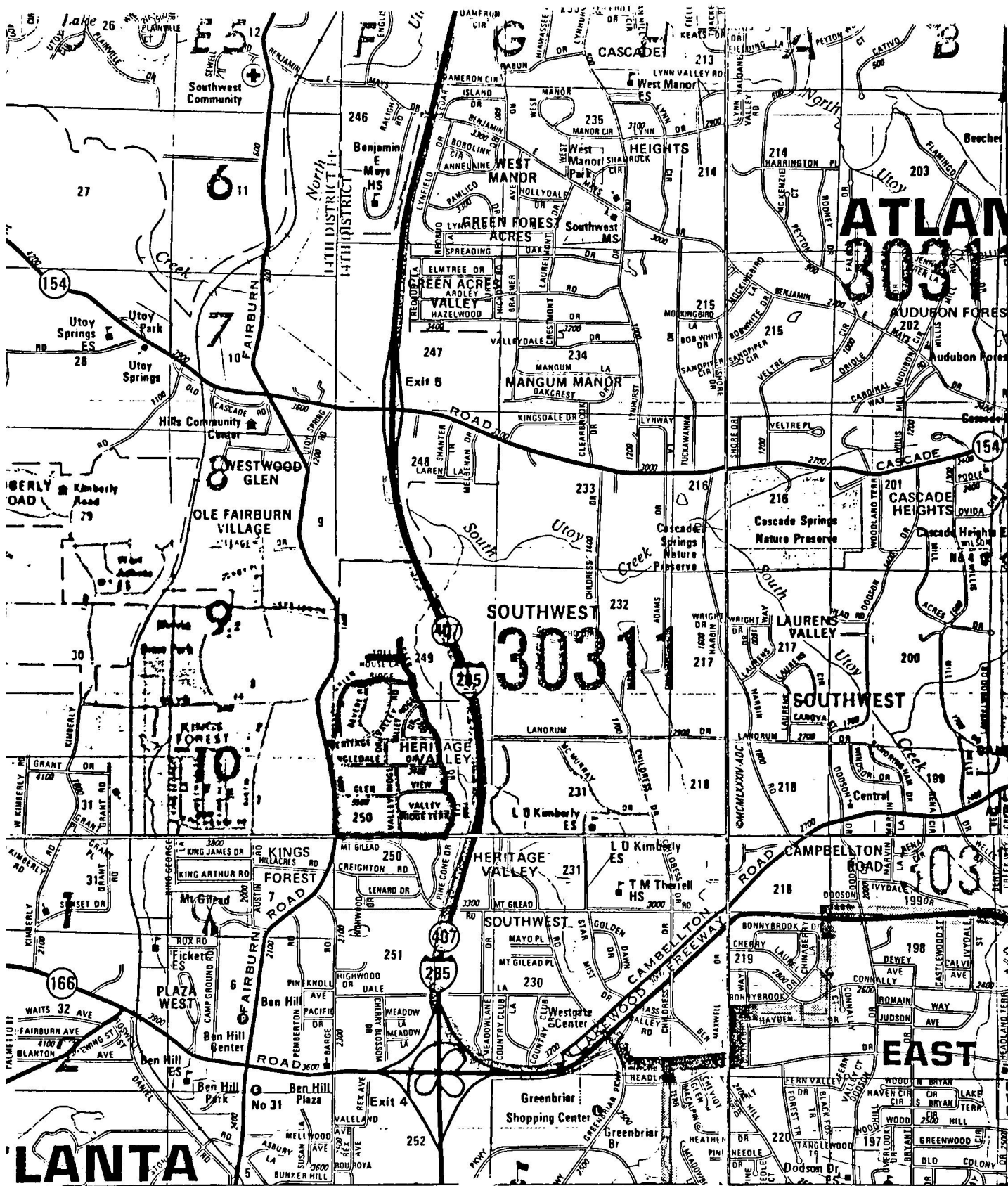
## COMMUNITY I.



APPENDIX 8  
COMMUNITY II.

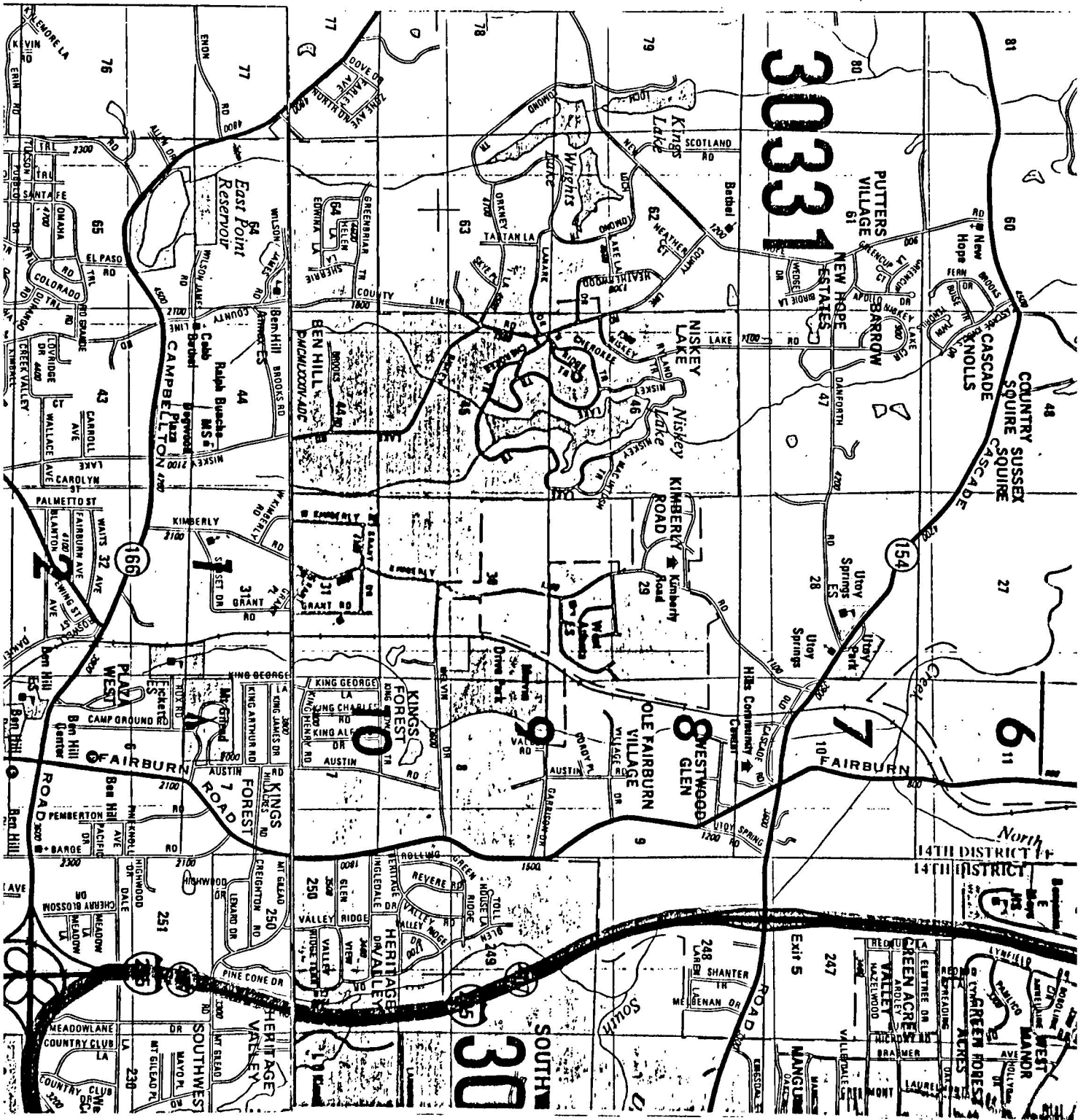


APPENDIX 9  
COMMUNITY III.





APPENDIX 10  
COMMUNITY IV.



APPENDIX 11  
QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Respondent number \_\_\_\_\_
  2. Community number \_\_\_\_\_
  3. Ethnic Background      1. White      2. African-American  
                                 3. Hispanic      4. Other \_\_\_\_\_
  4. Is the annual household income      \_\_\_\_\_ Less than \$10,000  
   \_\_\_\_\_ Between 10,000. and 15,000.  
   \_\_\_\_\_ Between \$15,000 and \$25,000.  
   \_\_\_\_\_ Over \$25,000.  
   \_\_\_\_\_ Over \$35,000.  
   \_\_\_\_\_ Over \$50,000.  
   \_\_\_\_\_ Over \$75,000.
  5. Is the Head of household female or male?
  6. Are both spouses living in the home?      \_\_\_\_\_ YES,      \_\_\_\_\_ NO
  7. What is the educational level of the head of household and spouse?

Some High School	_____	_____
High School Grad	_____	_____
Some College	_____	_____
College Grad	_____	_____
Graduate level	_____	_____
  8. What is the occupation of the head of Household? \_\_\_\_\_
  9. What social organizations do you belong to? \_\_\_\_\_
-

10. Are you a member of a church or religious body? \_\_\_\_\_YES, \_\_\_\_\_NO
11. How often do you attend church services? Once a Month \_\_\_\_\_  
 Twice a Month \_\_\_\_\_  
 Three times a Month \_\_\_\_\_  
 Four times a Month \_\_\_\_\_  
 Five times a Month \_\_\_\_\_
12. What church organizations do you belong to? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
13. In how many church organizations do you hold leadership responsibilities? \_\_\_\_\_
14. What is your church's denomination? \_\_\_\_\_
15. Does this statement describe the beliefs of the majority of the people in the church you attend?
- (A) I need to worship God because God has blessed me with a good job, a nice home, nice clothes, a car and financial security. \_\_\_\_\_YES, \_\_\_\_\_NO
- (B) I believe that the church should be organized to uplift the black race and help organize blacks politically, socially and economically. \_\_\_\_\_YES, \_\_\_\_\_NO
- (C) I believe that once I accept christ in my life my life has been fulfilled and nothing else in life matters \_\_\_\_\_YES, \_\_\_\_\_NO
- (D) I believe that through prayer and faith that I can do anything, even heal sick people or attempt dangereous tasks without harm. \_\_\_\_\_YES, \_\_\_\_\_NO
16. If you answered yes to more than one of the responses above, which response best describes the belief of the majority of the



people that attend your church? \_\_\_\_ (A), \_\_\_\_ (B), \_\_\_\_ (C), \_\_\_\_ (D)

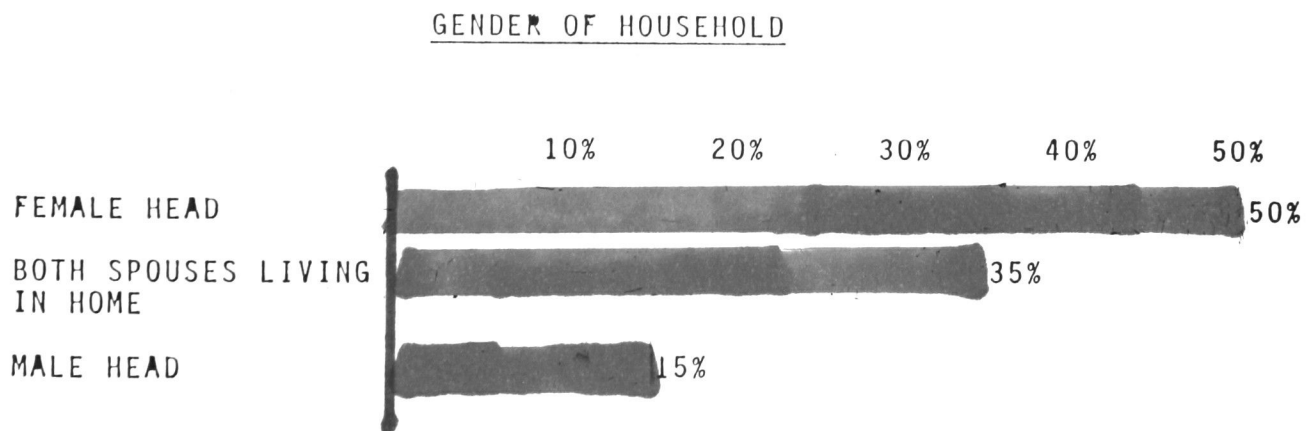
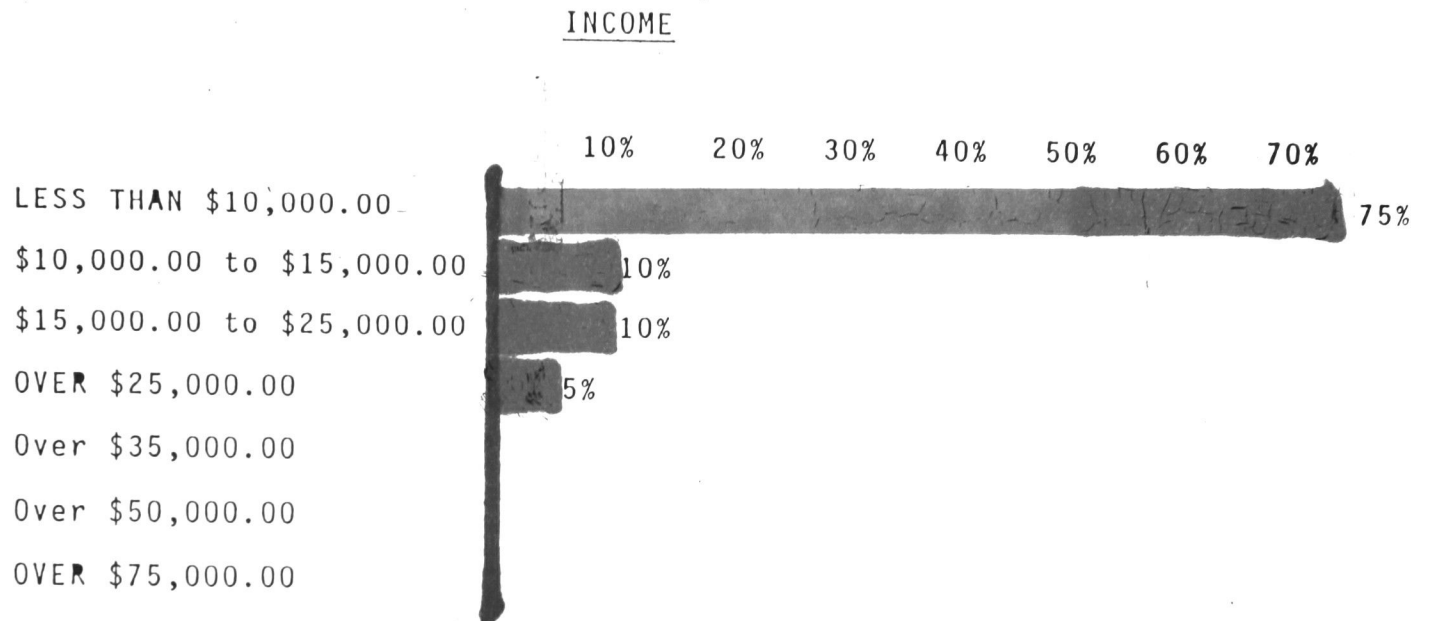
17. What does it mean to be saved? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
13. Why is it necessary for you to have God in your life or participate in the Church? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
19. Do you feel that an individuals religious beliefs are his/her own personal concerns? \_\_\_\_ YES, \_\_\_\_ NO.
20. Do you think that decisions about governmental affairs should be based on religious beliefs? \_\_\_\_ YES, \_\_\_\_ NO.
21. Do you think that decisions about buisness and economics should be based on religious beliefs? \_\_\_\_ YES, \_\_\_\_ NO
22. Should an Individual's religion affect the types of decisions he/she make on the job? \_\_\_\_ YES, \_\_\_\_ NO.
23. Should the church get involved in social, political or economic issues in the community or should it only be concerned with helping individuals deepen their personal relationship with Gods? \_\_\_\_\_
24. Do you think that every individual have equal opportunity to get ahead if they work equally as hard? \_\_\_\_ YES, \_\_\_\_ NO
25. Do you think that every individual has an equal opportunity to go to college? \_\_\_\_ YES, \_\_\_\_ NO.
26. Do you think that every individual gets equal and fair treatment from the law, police or courts? \_\_\_\_ YES, \_\_\_\_ NO.
27. If no in #26, who gets fair treatment \_\_\_\_\_  
Who gets unfair treatment? \_\_\_\_\_

28. Do you think that voting makes a difference? ☐ YES, ☐ NO  
Why? \_\_\_\_\_
29. Does everyone have equal influence on the government?  
☐ YES, ☐ NO Why? \_\_\_\_\_
30. If a person's father is a laborer do you think that that person will be a laborer? ☐ YES, ☐ NO
31. If a person's father is rich do you think that that person will be rich? ☐ YES, ☐ NO
32. Do you think that rich people and poor people work equally as hard? ☐ YES, ☐ NO.
33. Do you think that every one wants to get ahead? ☐ YES, ☐ NO
34. Why are rich people rich? \_\_\_\_\_
35. Why are poor people poor? \_\_\_\_\_
36. Why are people on relief in the 80's? \_\_\_\_\_
37. How often do you vote? Every election ☐  
some elections ☐  
never ☐
38. Which statement describes how power is distributed in the United States?
- (1) RIESMAN: No one group really runs the government in this country. Instead, important decisions about national policy are made by a lot of different groups such as labor, business, religious and educational groups, and so on. These groups influence both parties, but no single group can dictate to the other and each group is strong enough to protect its own interest.
- (2) MILLS: A small group of men at the top really runs the government in this country. These are the heads of the biggest business corporations, the highest officers in the army, navy,

and air force, and a few important senators, congressmen, and federal officials in Washington. These men dominate both the Republican and Democratic parties.

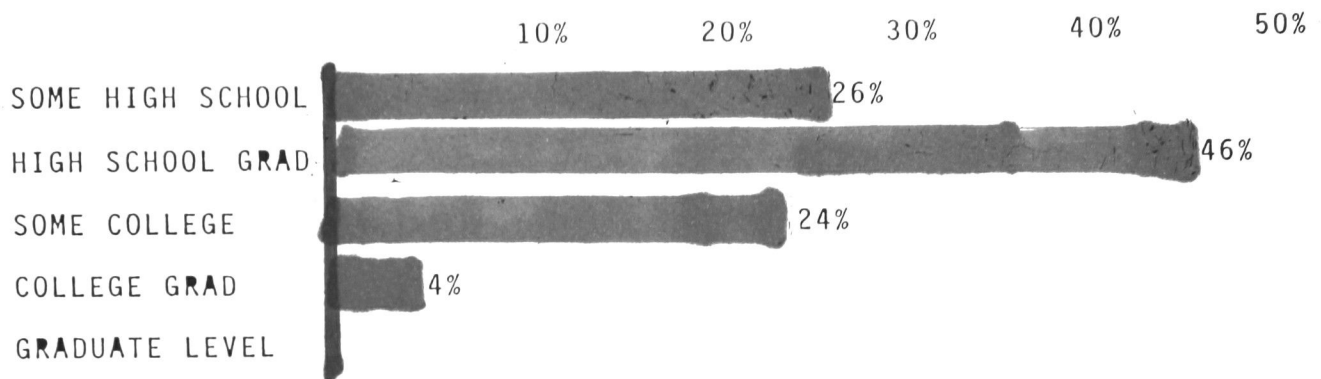
(3) MARX: Big businessmen really run the government in this country. The heads of the large corporations dominate both the Republican and Democratic parties. This means that things in Washington go pretty much the way big businessmen want them to.

APPENDIX 12  
STATUS DESCRIPTION OF COMMUNITY I.



APPENDIX 12 CONTINUED

EDUCATION



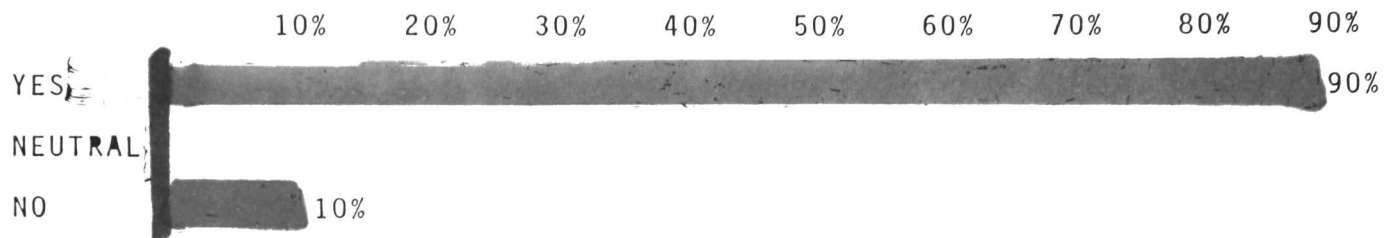
OCCUPATION

UNEMPLOYED	40%
DISABLED VETERANS	10%

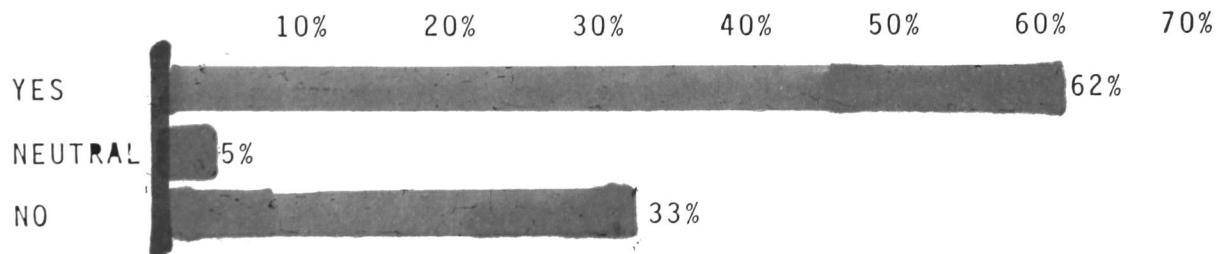
Households belonging to social organizations - 25%

APPENDIX 13  
COMMUNITY I. AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

Does every individual have equal opportunity to get ahead if they work equally as hard?



Does every individual have an equal opportunity to go to college?



EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

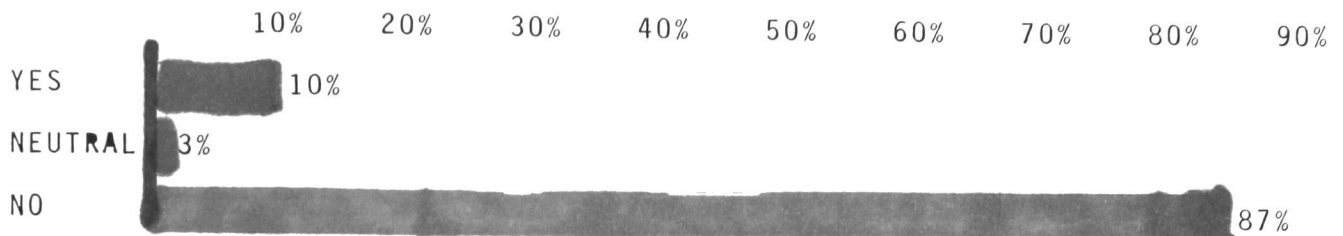
AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
61%	32%	7%

The table on Equal Opportunity was derived from responses to the first two questions above. Those individuals that responded yes to both questions was said to agree that there is equal opportunity. Those individuals that responded with no to both questions disagreed. Individuals that responded with a yes to one question and with no to the other were categories as neutral.

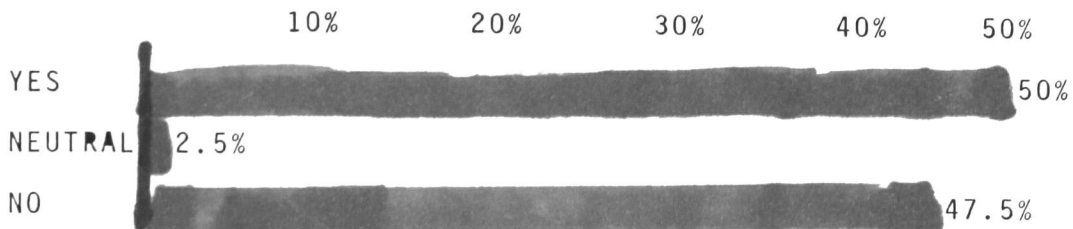
APPENDIX 14

COMMUNITY I. AND HARD WORK

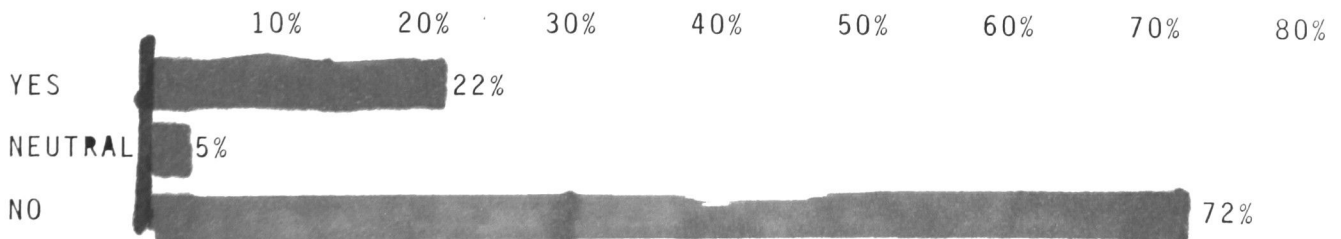
If a person's father is a laborer do you think that that person will be a laborer?



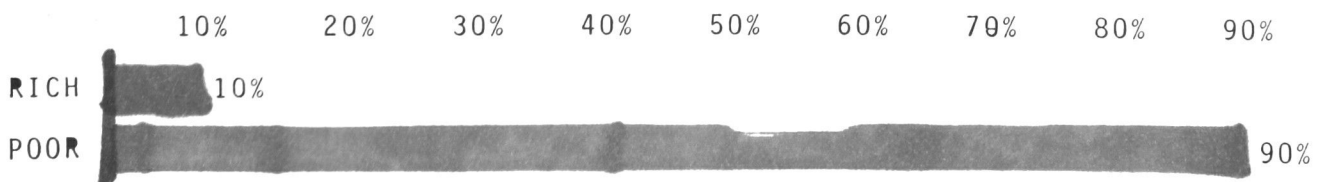
If a person's father is rich do you think that that person will be rich?



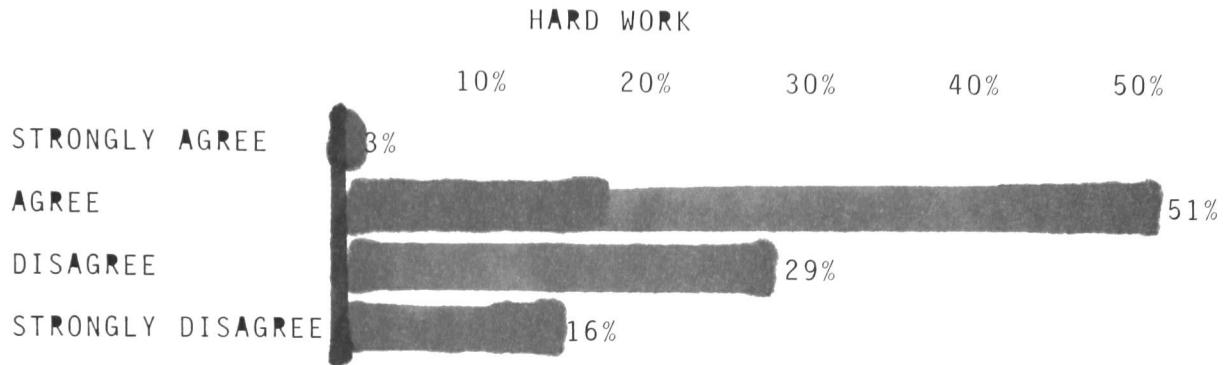
Do you think that rich people and poor people work equally as hard?



Who works harder?



#### APPENDIX 14 CONTINUED

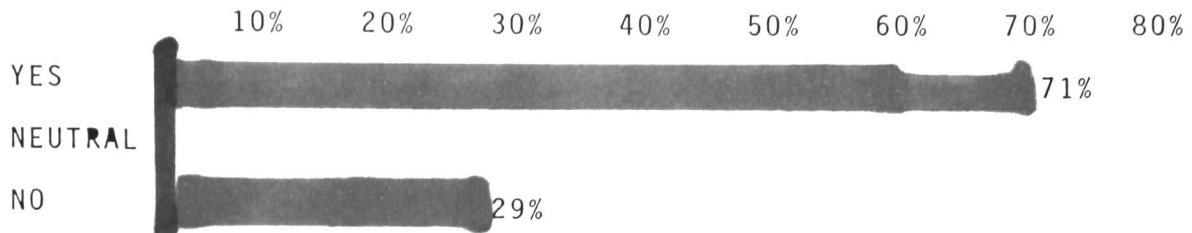


The chart above shows the overall rating of Community I on the relationship between hard work and success. Those who strongly agree feel that hard work is the key to success. They answered no to all of the questions in the first three charts on the previous page and felt that the rich work harder than the poor. Those who agree answered no to at least two of the questions in the first three charts and felt that the rich work harder than the poor if they answered no to the third question. Those who disagree answered yes to at least two of the first three questions on the previous page. Those who strongly *disagree* answered yes to all three question on the previous page.

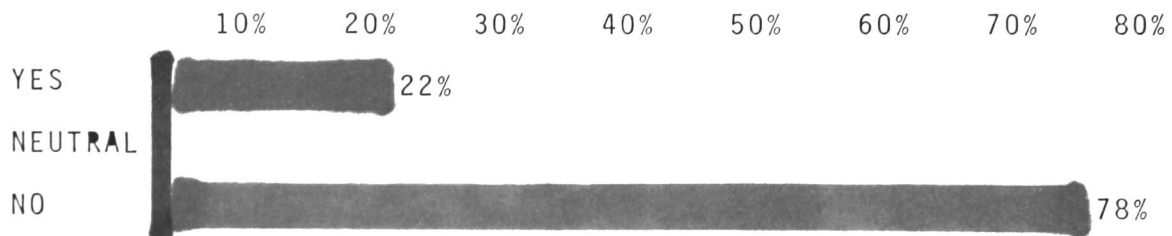


APPENDIX 15  
COMMUNITY I. AND DEMOCRACY

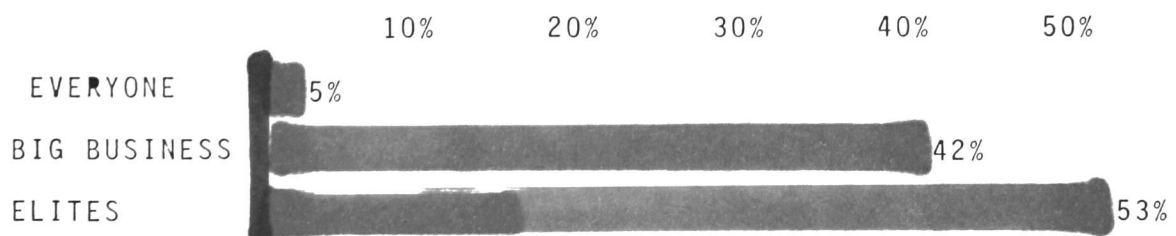
Do you think that voting makes a difference?



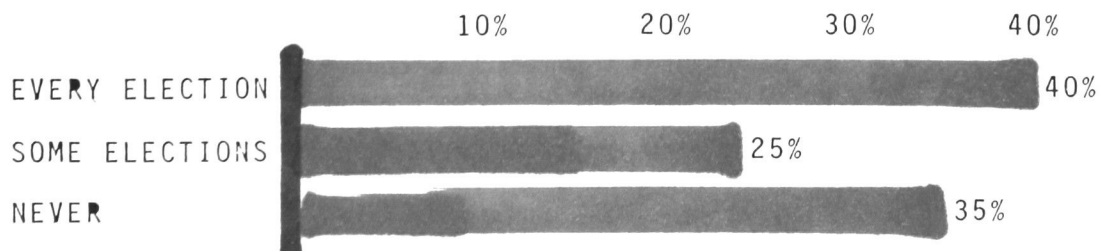
Does everyone have equal influence on the government?



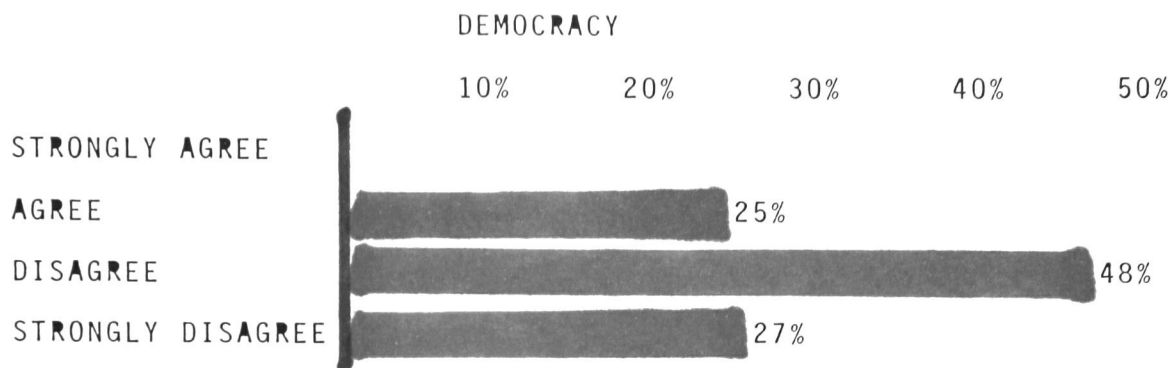
Who runs the government in the United States?



How often do you vote?

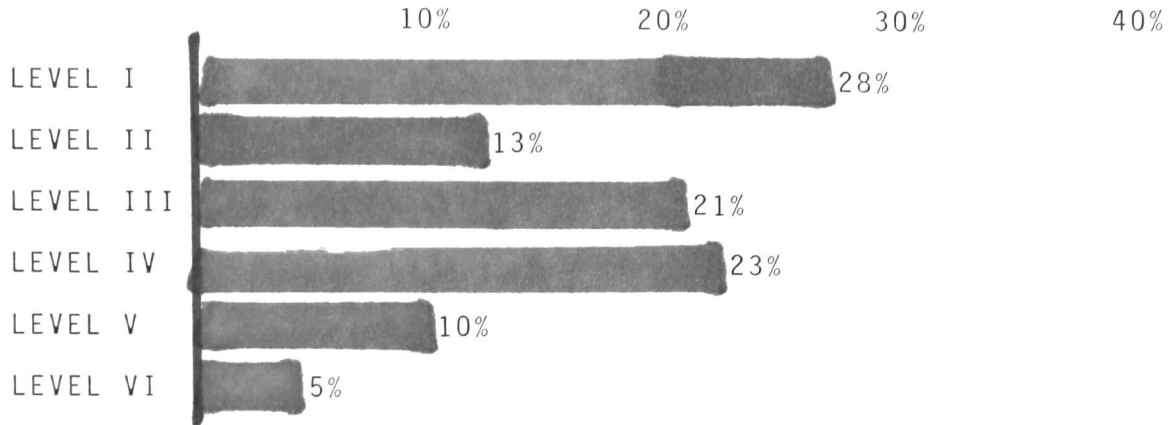


# APPENDIX 15 CONTINUED



Those persons that strongly agree that Democracy is fair answered yes to questions 28 and 29 in the questionnaire and selected the first response to question 38. Those persons that agree that democracy is fair answered yes to questions 28 and 29 and selected the second or third responses to question 38, or they answered yes to only one of the questions and selected the first response to question 38. Those persons that disagree that Democracy is fair answered no to questions 28 and 29 and selected the first response to question 38, or answered no to one of the questions (28 or 29) and did-not select the first response to question 38. Those persons that strongly disagree that Democracy is fair answered no to questions 28 and 29 and did not select the first response to question 38.

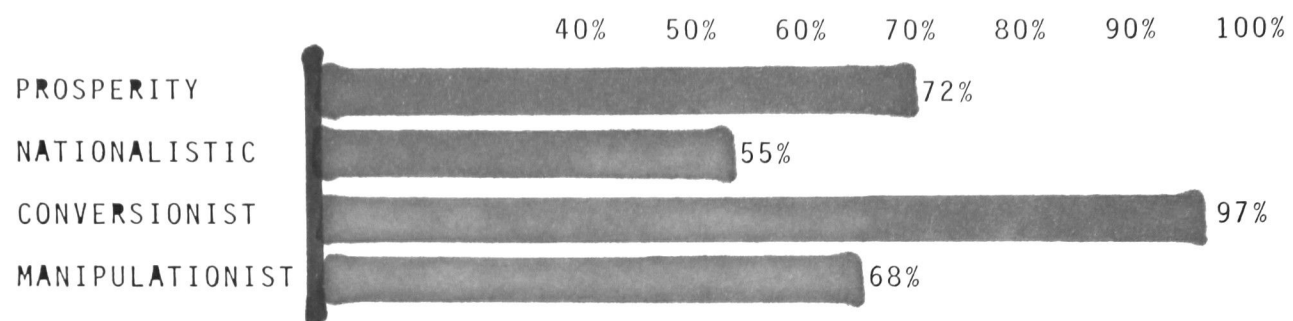
APPENDIX 16  
CHURCH INVOLVEMENT OF COMMUNITY I.



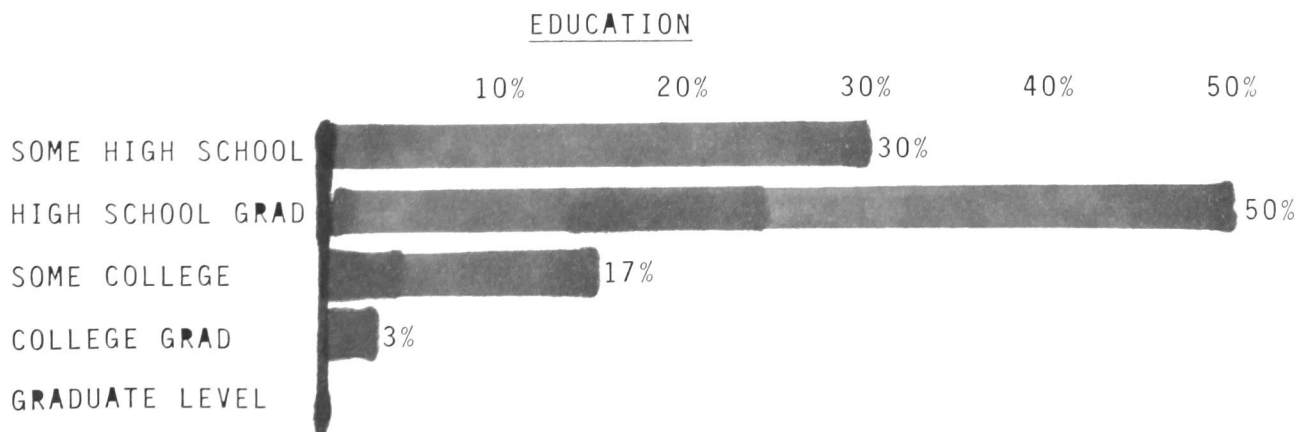
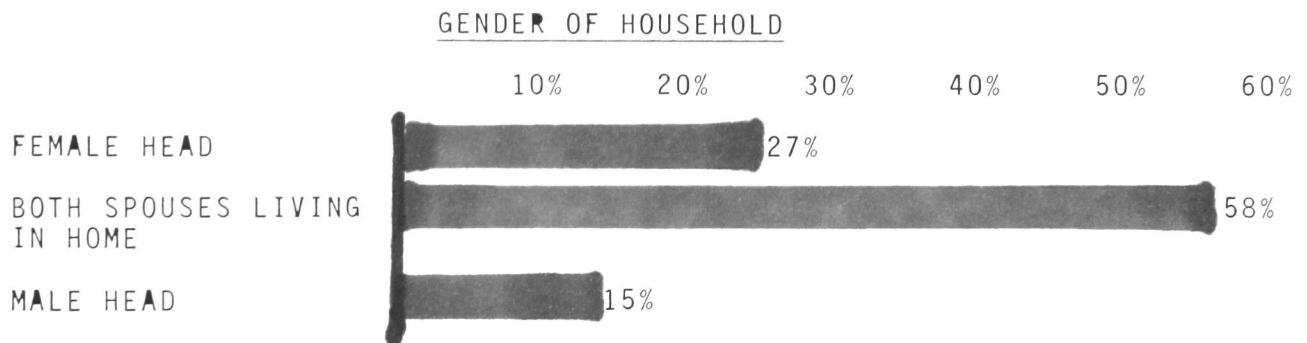
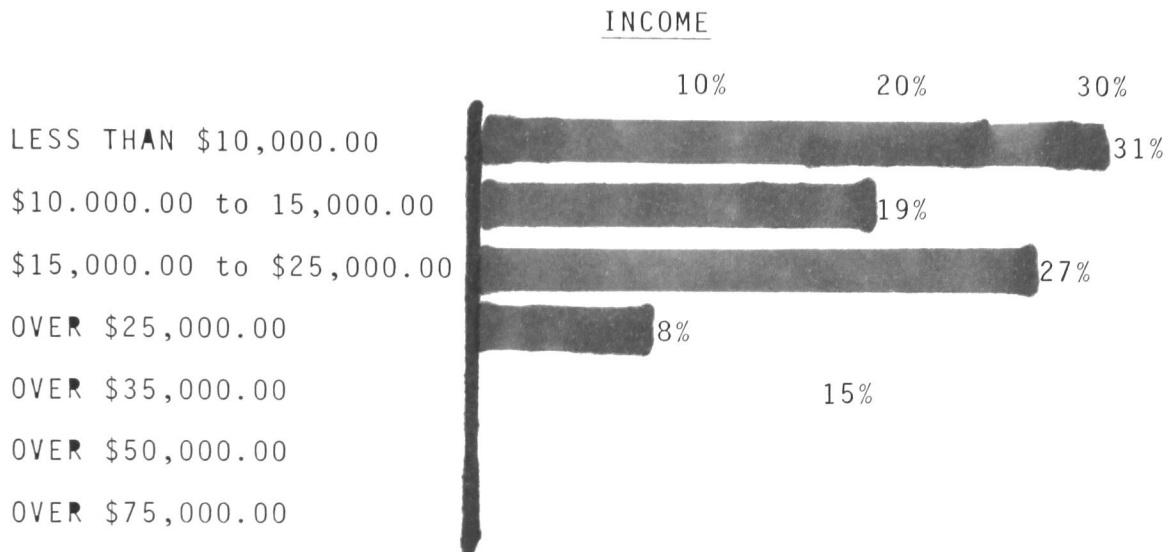
Each respondent was given one point for being a member of a church, one point for attending sporadically (once or twice a month), two points for attending regularly (three or more times a month), one point for belonging to a work organization in the church and one point for holding a leadership position in the church. After the points were totaled the respondent was placed in one of the levels corresponding to his/her total. The levels range from I. to VI. Level I. represents those persons that did not accumulate any points meaning that they are not members of any church and has not attended church in at least a year. Level VI. represents those persons accumulating 5 points (the highest amount of points one is able to accumulate) meaning they are members of churches, attend regularly and hold leadership positions in their churches.

## APPENDIX 17

### THEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION OF COMMUNITY I.



APPENDIX 18  
STATUS DESCRIPTION OF COMMUNITY II.



APPENDIX 18 CONTINUED

OCCUPATION

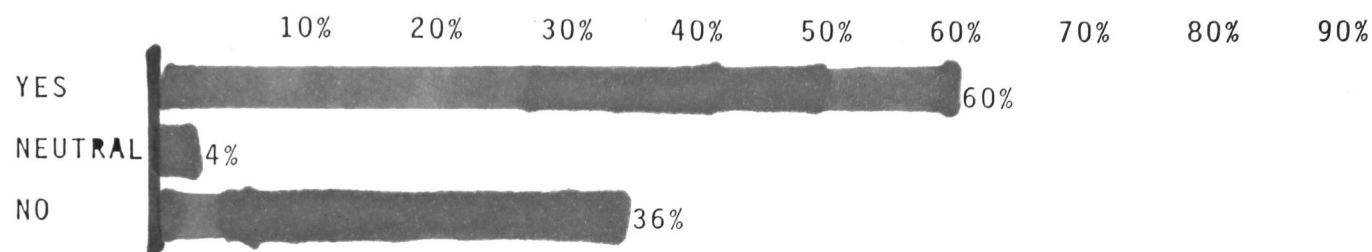
UNEMPLOYED            8%

RETIRED                15%

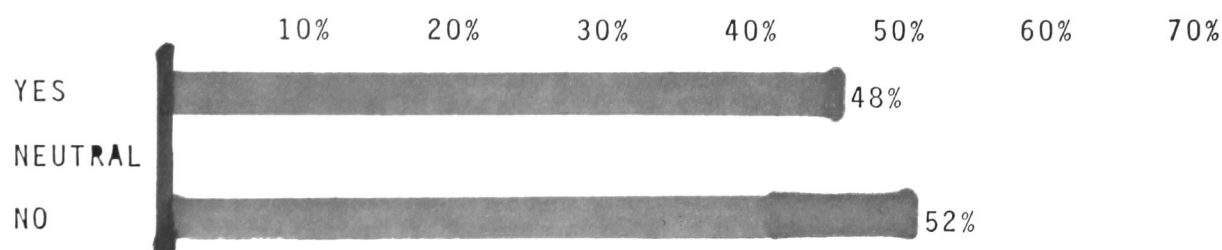
Households belonging to social organizations - 17%

# APPENDIX 19

Does every individual have equal opportunity to get ahead if they work equally as hard?



Does every individual have an equal opportunity to go to college?



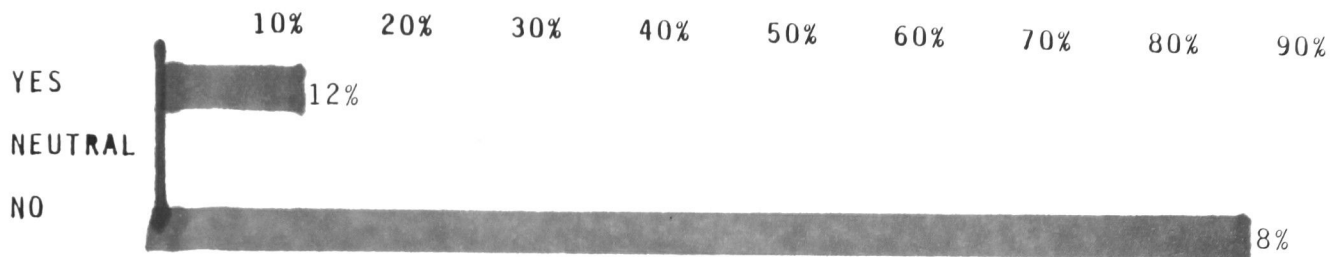
## EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
37%	33%	29%

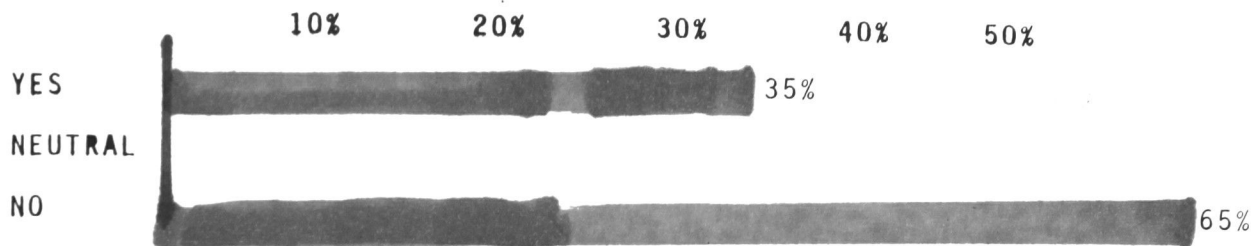
The table on Equal Opportunity was derived from responses to the first two questions above. Those individuals that responded yes to both questions was said to agree that there is equal opportunity. Those individuals that responded with no to both questions disagreed. Individuals that responded with a yes to one question and with no to the other were categories as neutral.

# APPENDIX 20 COMMUNITY II. AND HARD WORK

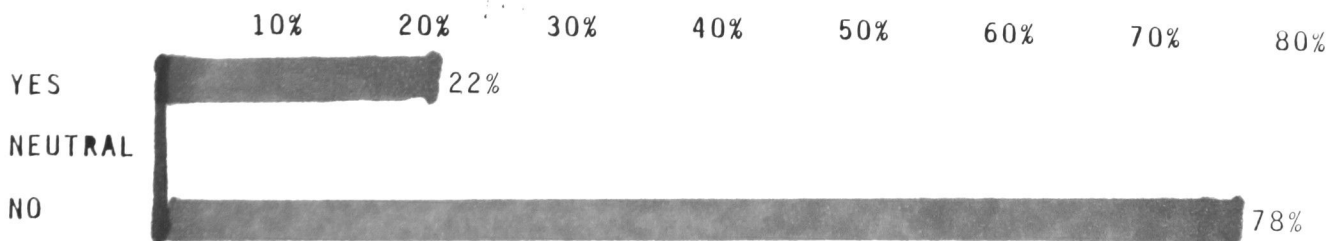
If a person's father is a laborer do you think that that person will be a laborer?



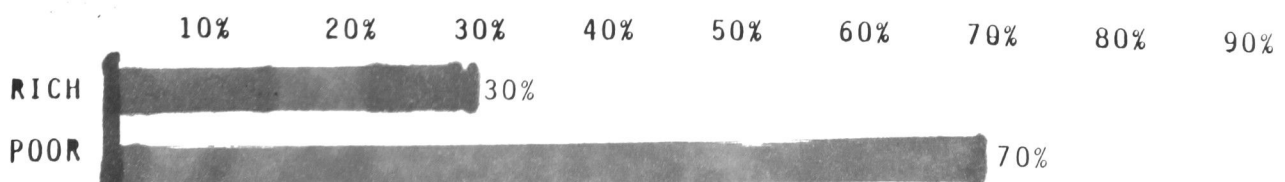
If a person's father is rich do you think that that person will be rich?



Do you think that rich people and poor people work equally as hard?

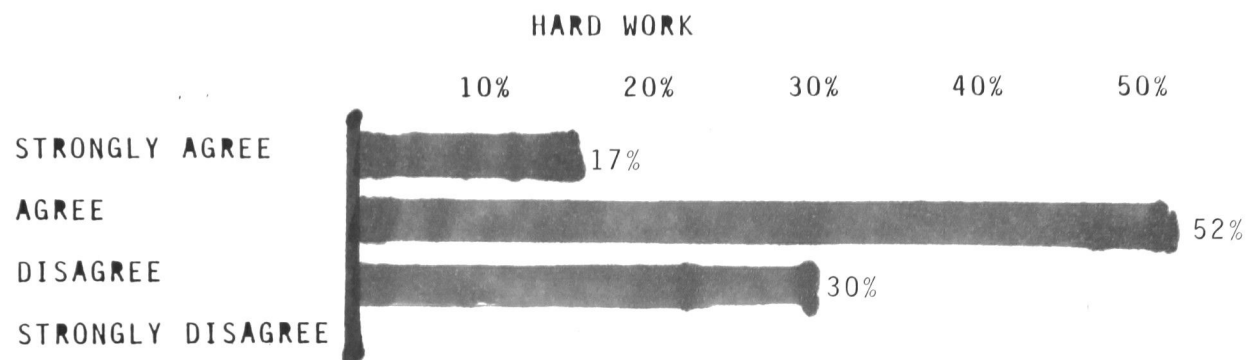


Who works harder?





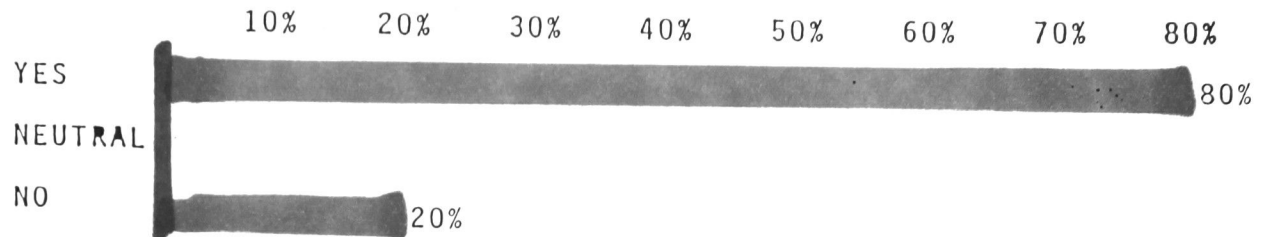
# APPENDIX 20 CONTINUED



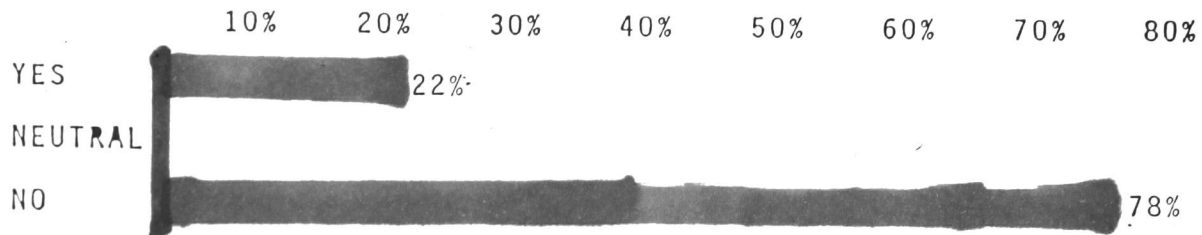
The chart above shows the overall rating of Community I on the relationship between hard work and success. Those who strongly agree feel that hard work is the key to success. They answered no to all of the questions, in the first three charts on the previous page and felt that the rich work harder than the poor. Those who agree answered no to at least two of the questions in the first three charts and felt that the rich work harder than the poor if they answered no to the third question. Those who disagree answered yes to at least two of the first three questions on the previous page. Those who strongly ~~disagree~~ answered yes to all three question on the previous page.

APPENDIX 21  
COMMUNITY II AND DEMOCRACY

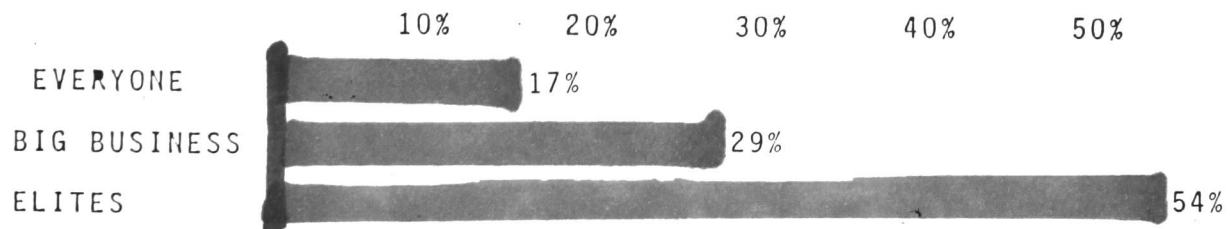
Do you think that voting makes a difference?



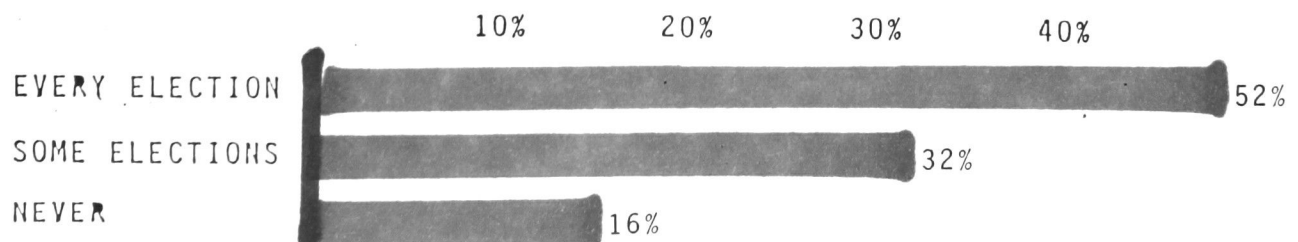
Does everyone have equal influence on the government?



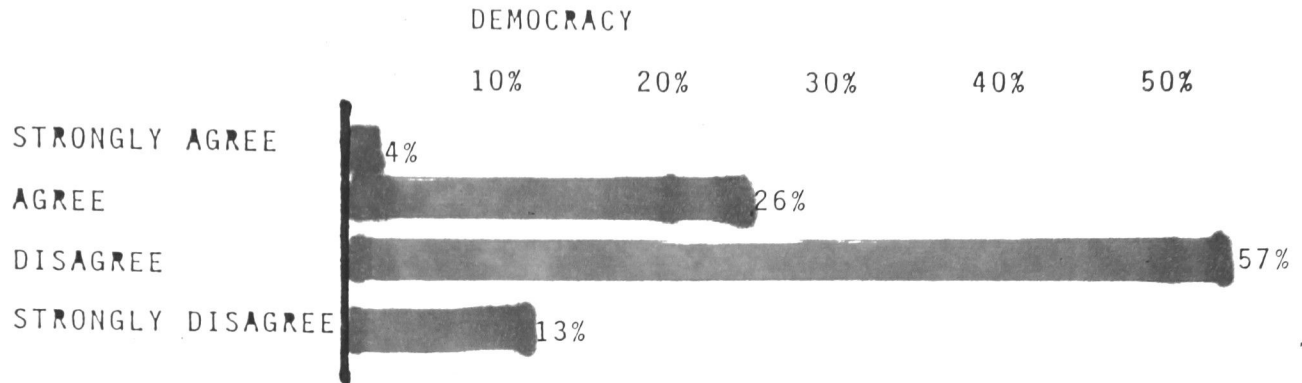
Who runs the government in the United States?



How often do you vote?



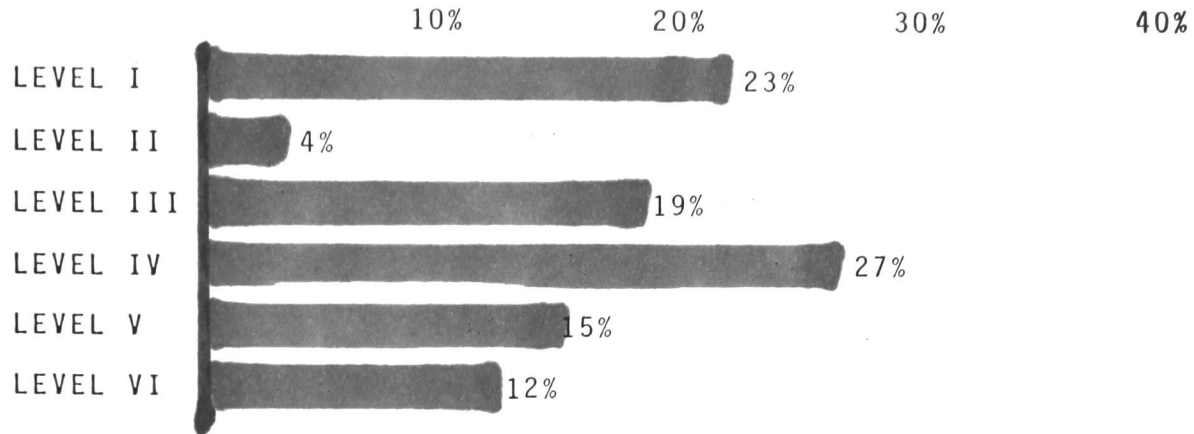
## APPENDIX 2 CONTINUED



Those persons that strongly agree that Democracy is fair answered yes to questions 28 and 29 in the questionnaire and selected the first response to question 38. Those persons that agree that democracy is fair answered yes to questions 28 and 29 and selected the second or third responses to question 38, or they answered yes to only one of the questions and selected the first response to question 38. Those persons that disagree that Democracy is fair answered no to questions 28 and 29 and selected the first response to question 38, or answered no to one of the questions (28 or 29) and did not select the first response to question 38. Those persons that strongly disagree that Democracy is fair answered no to questions 28 and 29 and did not select the first response to question 38.

## APPENDIX 22

### CHURCH INVOLVEMENT OF COMMUNITY II

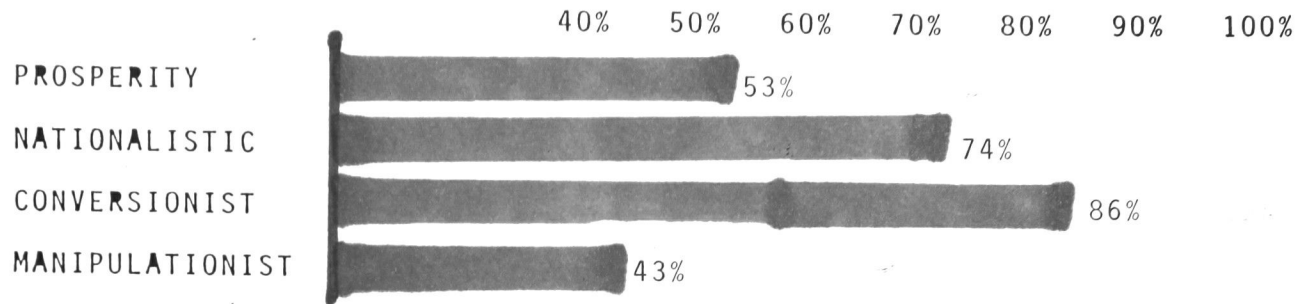


Each respondent was given one point for being a member of a church, one point for attending sporadically (once or twice a month), two points for attending regularly (three or more times a month), one point for belonging to a work organization in the church and one point for holding a leadership position in the church. After the points were totaled the respondent was placed in one of the levels corresponding to his/her total.

The levels range from I. to VI. Level I. represents those persons that did not accumulate any points meaning that they are not members of any church and has not attended church in at least a year. Level VI. represents those persons accumulating 5 points (the highest amount of points one is able to accumulate) meaning they are members of churches, attend regularly and hold leadership positions in their churches.

APPENDIX 23

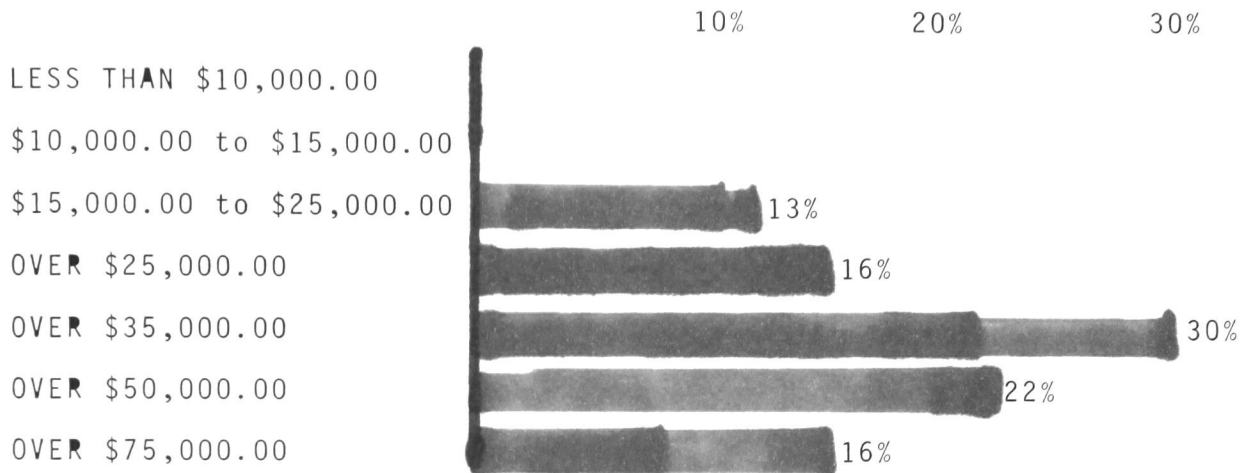
THEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION OF COMMUNITY II



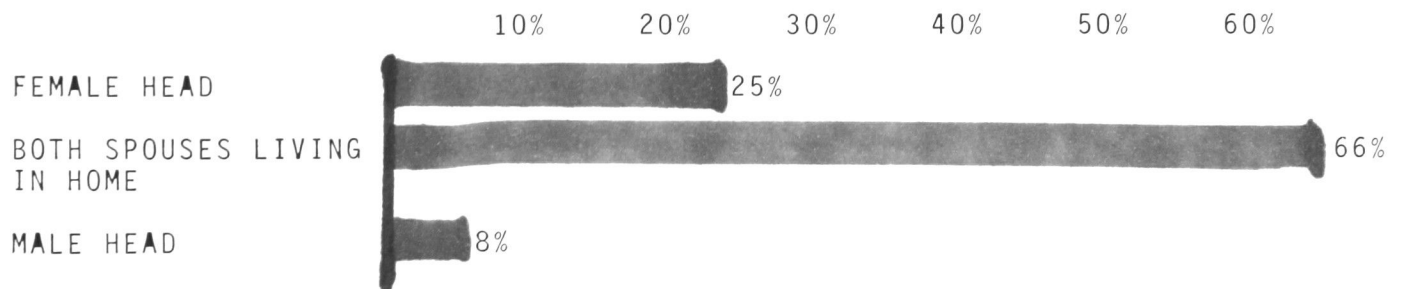
## APPENDIX 24

### STATUS DESCRIPTION OF COMMUNITY III.

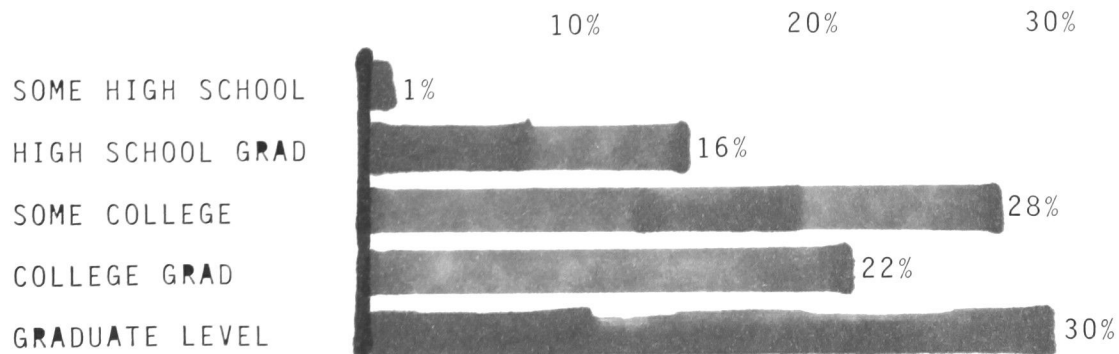
#### INCOME



#### GENDER OF HOUSEHOLD



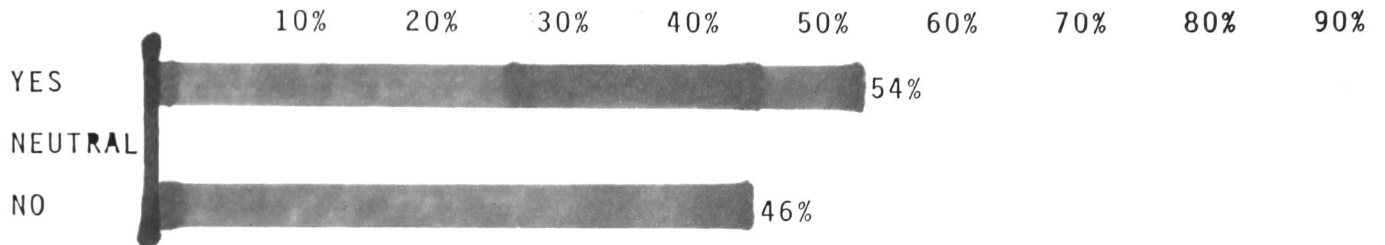
#### EDUCATION



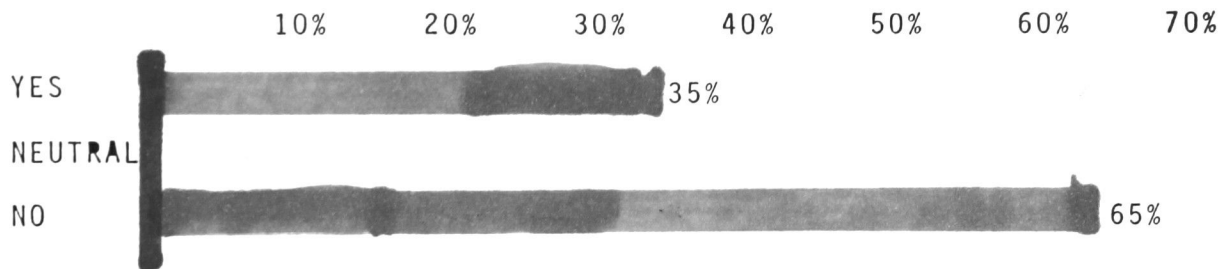
UNEMPLOYED 3%

## APPENDIX 25

Does every individual have equal opportunity to get ahead if they work equally as hard?



Does every individual have an equal opportunity to go to college?



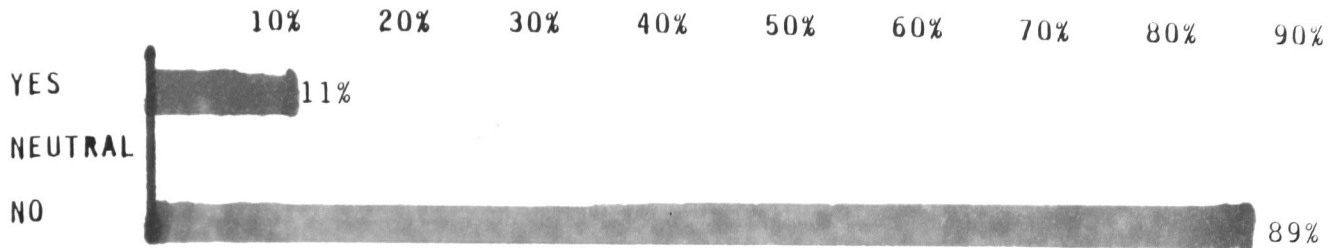
### EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
32%	26%	42%

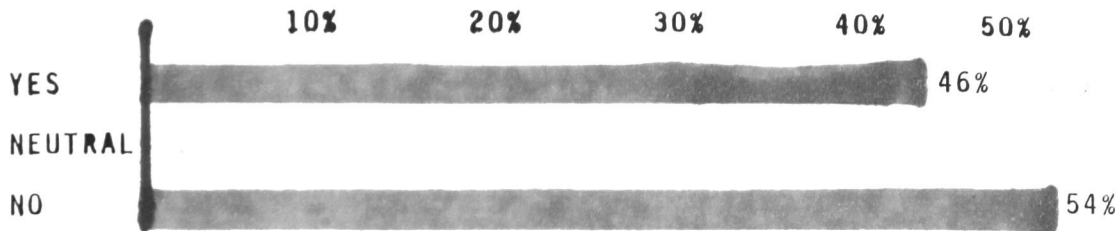
The table on Equal Opportunity was derived from responses to the first two questions above. Those individuals that responded yes to both questions was said to agree that there is equal opportunity. Those individuals that responded with no to both questions disagreed. Individuals that responded with a yes to one question and with no to the other were categories as neutral.

## APPENDIX 26

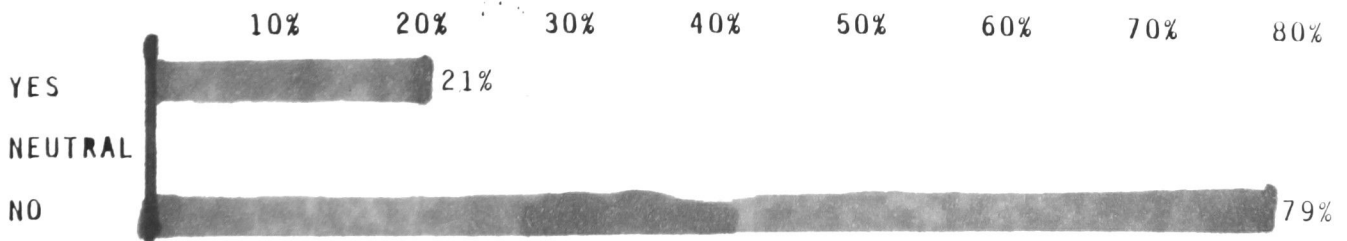
If a person's father is a laborer do you think that that person will be a laborer?



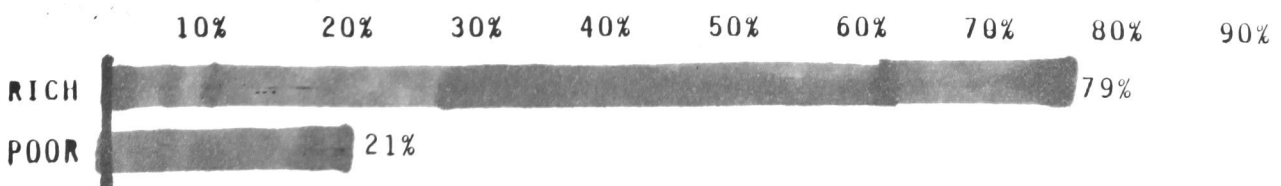
If a person's father is rich do you think that that person will be rich?



Do you think that rich people and poor people work equally as hard?

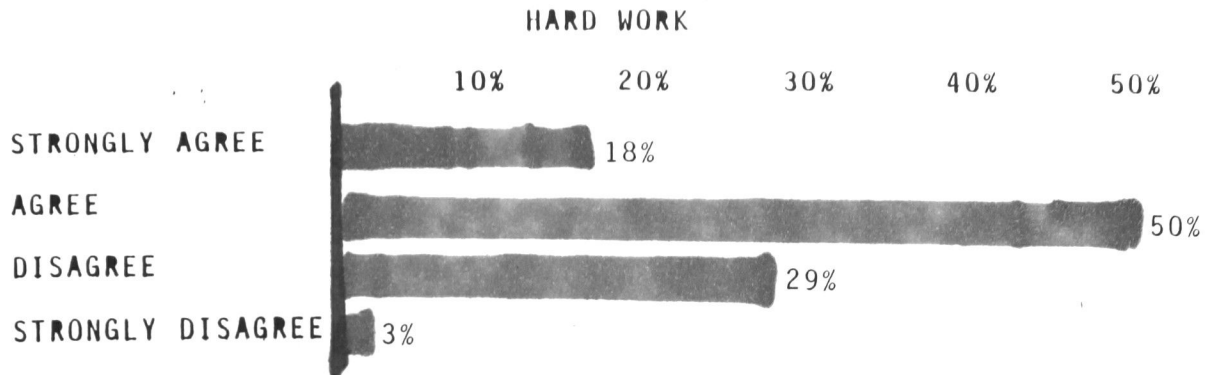


Who works harder?





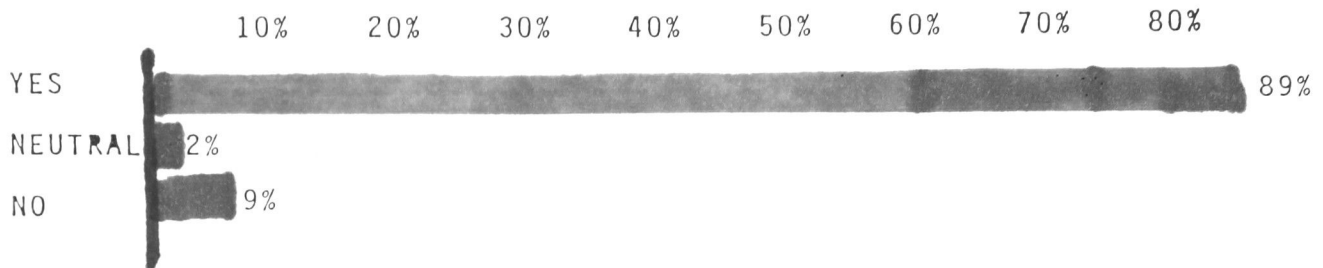
# APPENDIX 26. CONTINUED



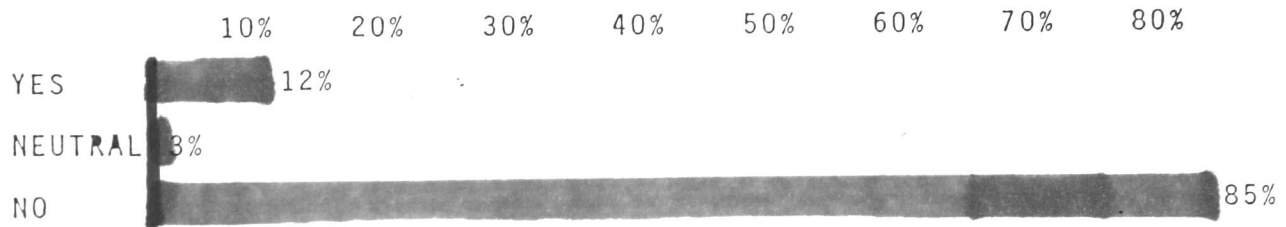
The chart above shows the overall rating of Community I on the relationship between hard work and success. Those who strongly agree feel that hard work is the key to success. They answered no to all of the questions in the first three charts on the previous page and felt that the rich work harder than the poor. Those who agree answered no to at least two of the questions in the first three charts and felt that the rich work harder than the poor if they answered no to the third question. Those who disagree answered yes to at least two of the first three questions on the previous page. Those who strongly *disagree* answered yes to all three question on the previous page.

APPENDIX 27  
COMMUNITY III AND DEMOCRACY

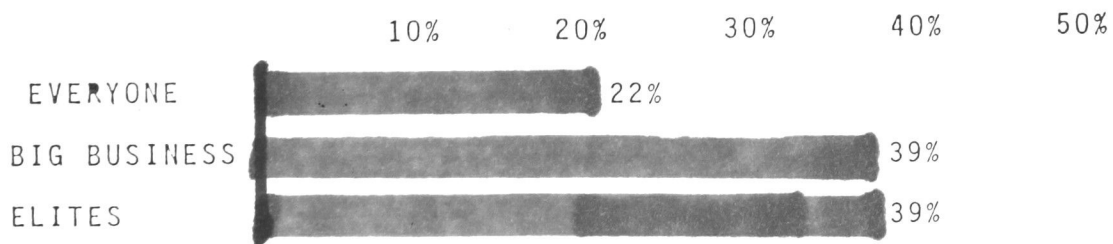
Do you think that voting makes a difference?



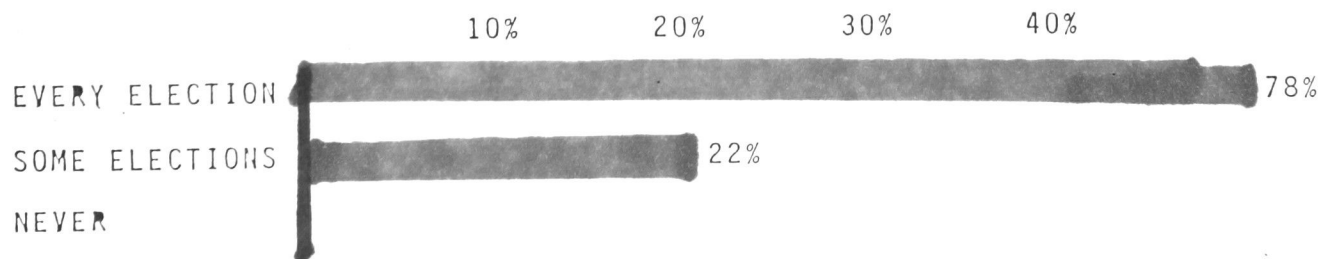
Does everyone have equal influence on the government?



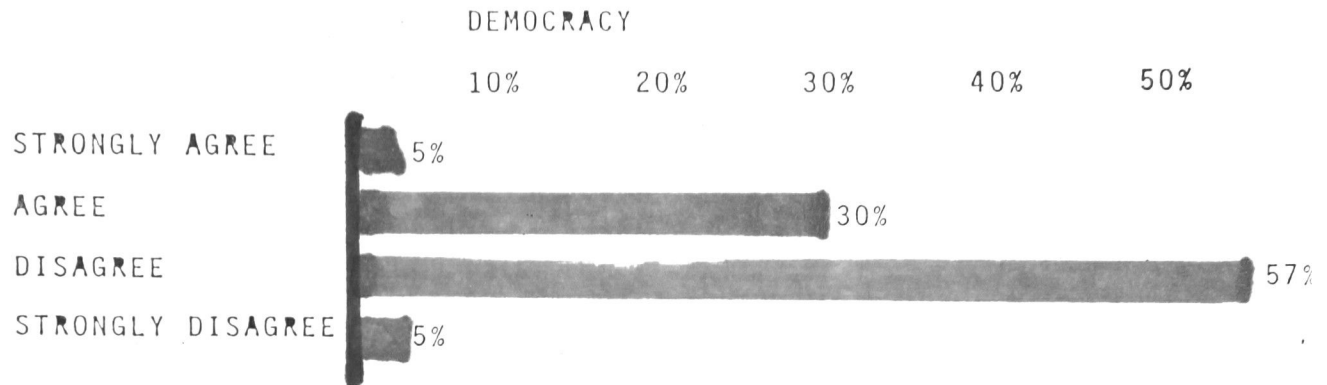
Who runs the government in the United States?



How often do you vote?



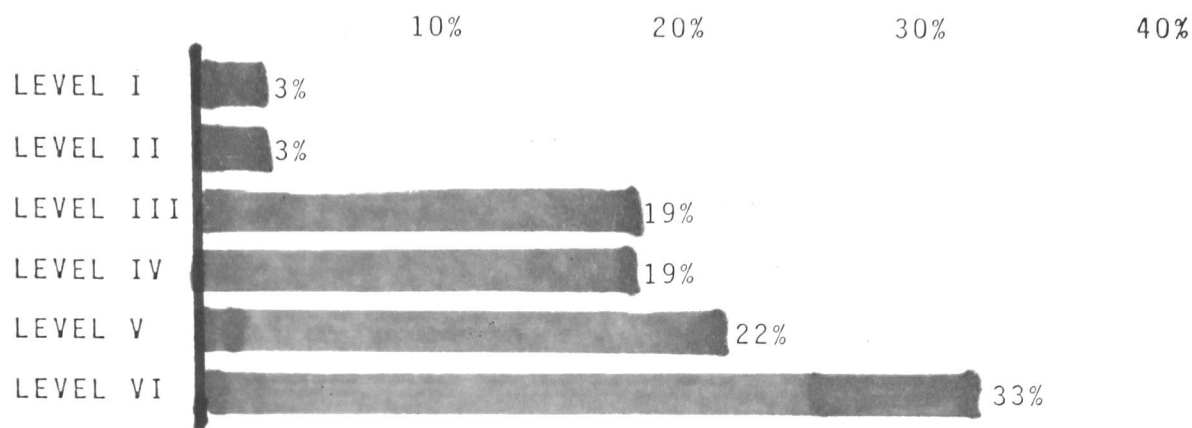
# APPENDIX 27 CONTINUED



Those persons that strongly agree that Democracy is fair answered yes to questions 28 and 29 in the questionnaire and selected the first response to question 38. Those persons that agree that democracy is fair answered yes to questions 28 and 29 and selected the second or third responses to question 38, or they answered yes to only one of the questions and selected the first response to question 38. Those persons that disagree that Democracy is fair answered no to questions 28 and 29 and selected the first response to question 38, or answered no to one of the questions (28 or 29) and did not select the first response to question 38. Those persons that strongly disagree that Democracy is fair answered no to questions 28 and 29 and did not select the first response to question 38.

## APPENDIX 28

### CHURCH INVOLVEMENT OF COMMUNITY III

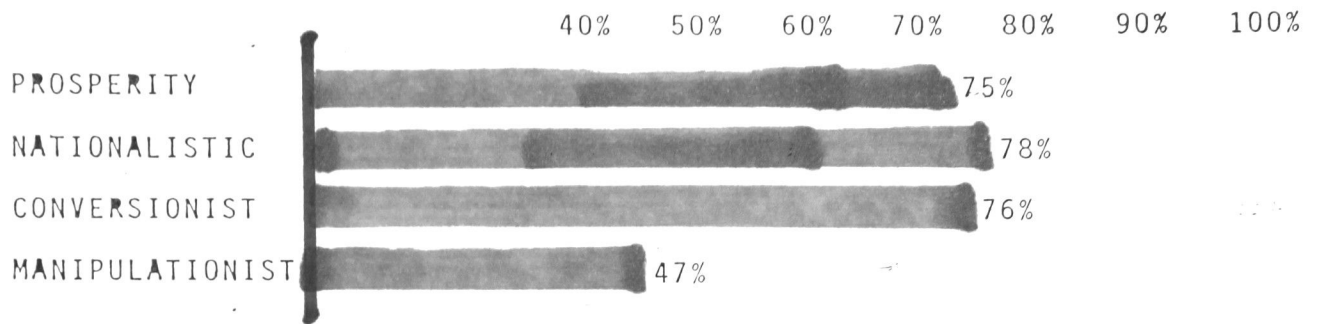


Each respondent was given one point for being a member of a church, one point for attending sporadically (once or twice a month), two points for attending regularly (three or more times a month), one point for belonging to a work organization in the church and one point for holding a leadership position in the church. After the points were totaled the respondent was placed in one of the levels corresponding to his/her total.

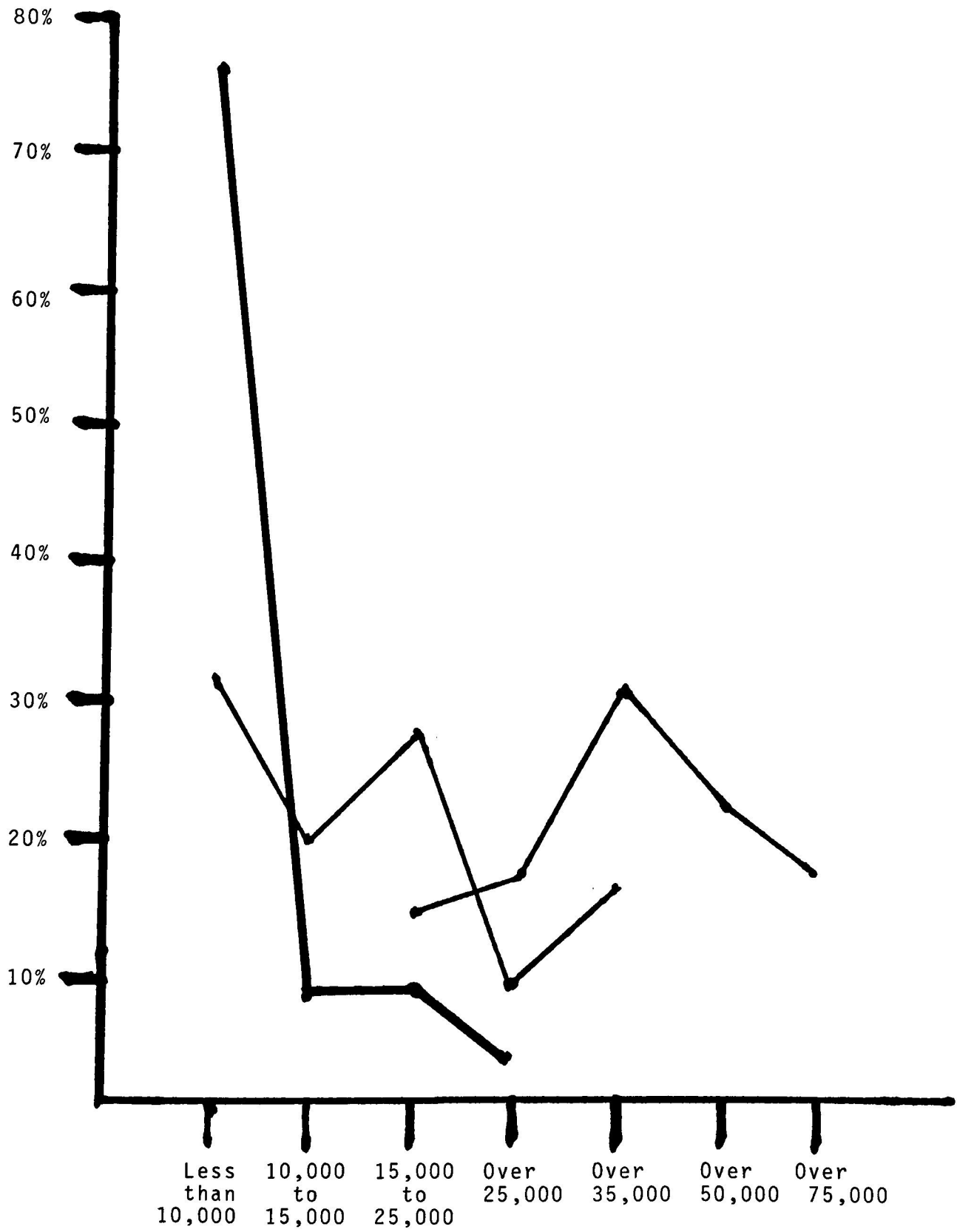
The levels range from I. to VI. Level I. represents those persons that did not accumulate any points meaning that they are not members of any church and has not attended church in at least a year. Level VI. represents those persons accumulating 5 points (the highest amount of points one is able to accumulate) meaning they are members of churches, attend regularly and hold leadership positions in their churches.

APPENDIX 29

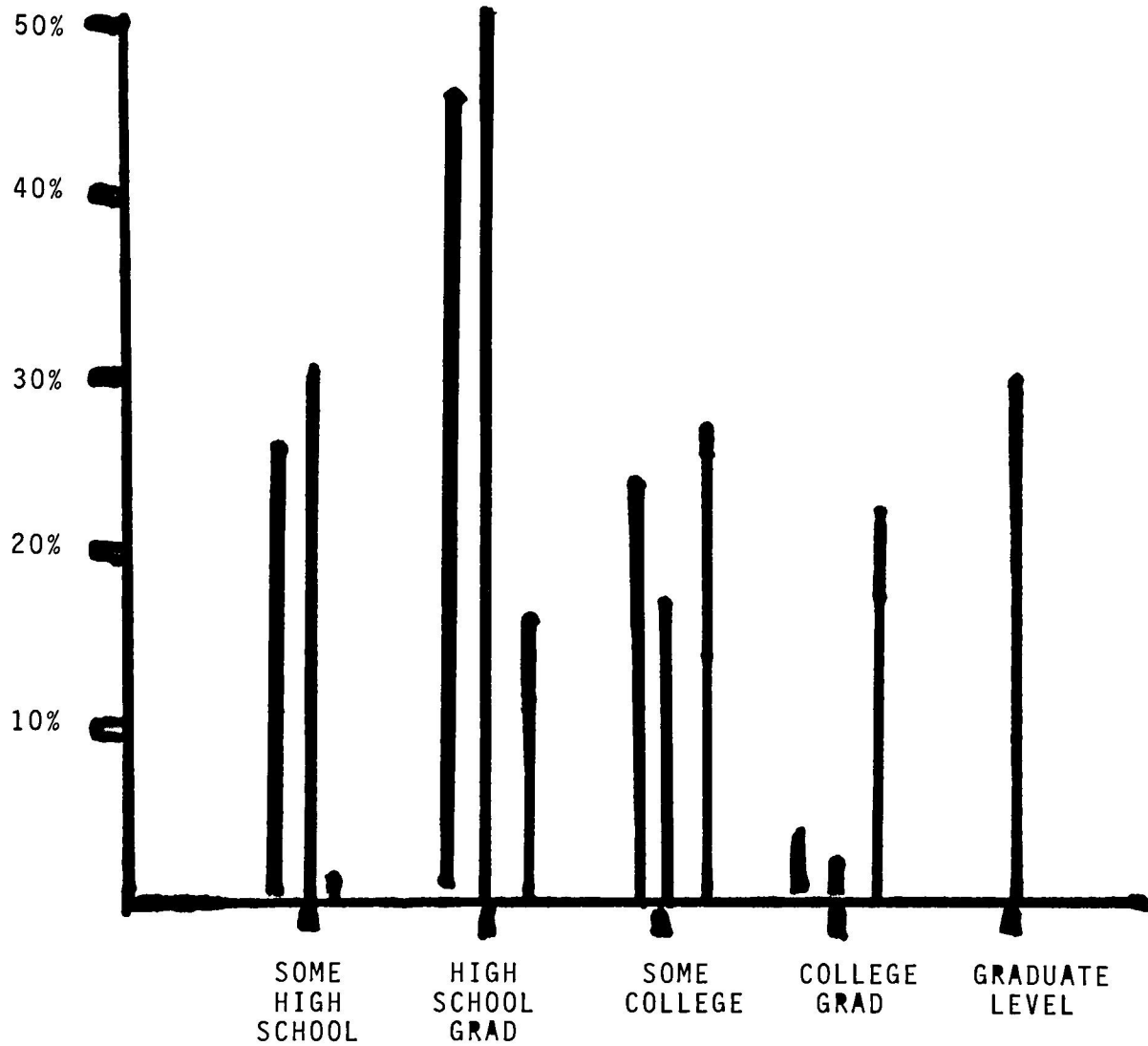
THEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION OF COMMUNITY III



APPENDIX 30  
INCOME BY COMMUNITY

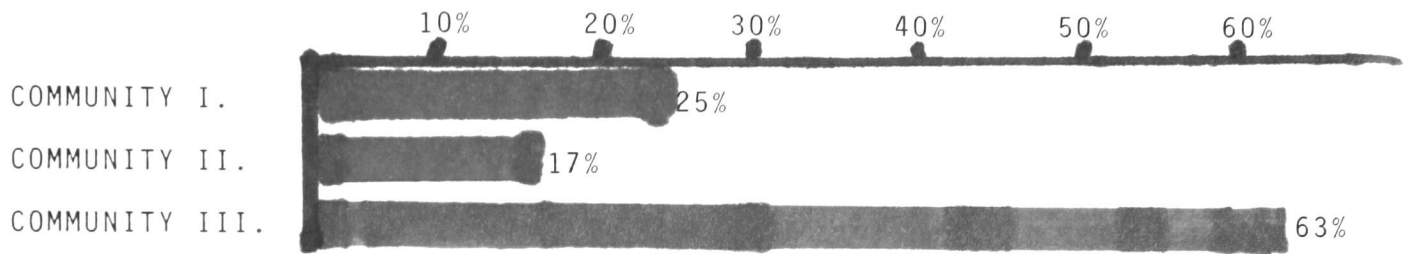


APPENDIX 31  
EDUCATION BY COMMUNITY



APPENDIX 32  
SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS BY COMMUNITY

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION BELONGING TO  
A SOCIAL ORGANIZATION





APPENDIX 33  
VIEWS ON CAPITALISM  
BY COMMUNITY

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
COMMUNITY I.	61%	32%	7%
COMMUNITY II.	37%	33%	29%
COMMUNITY III.	32%	26%	42%

HARD WORK

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
COMMUNITY I.	3%	51%	29%	16%
COMMUNITY II.	17%	52%	30%	0
COMMUNITY III.	18%	50%	29%	3%

DEMOCRACY IS FAIR

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
COMMUNITY I.	0	25%	48%	27%
COMMUNITY II.	-4%	26%	57%	13%
COMMUNITY III.	5%	30%	59%	5%

# PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT

	EVERY ELECTION	SOME ELECTION	NEVER
COMMUNITY I.	40%	26%	34%
COMMUNITY II.	52%	32%	16%
COMMUNITY III.	78%	22%	0%

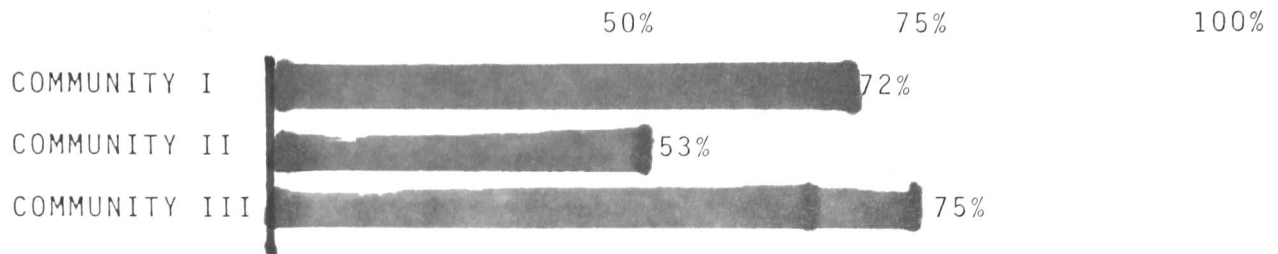
APPENDIX 34  
CHURCH AFFILIATION

	ESTABLISHED DENOMINATIONS	HOLINESS & PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES
COMMUNITY I.	83%	14%
COMMUNITY II.	74%	26%
COMMUNITY III.	92%	5%

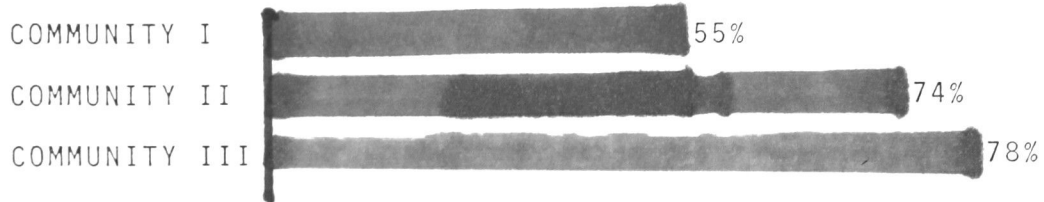
APPENDIX 35

THEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION BY COMMUNITY

PROSPERITY THEOLOGY



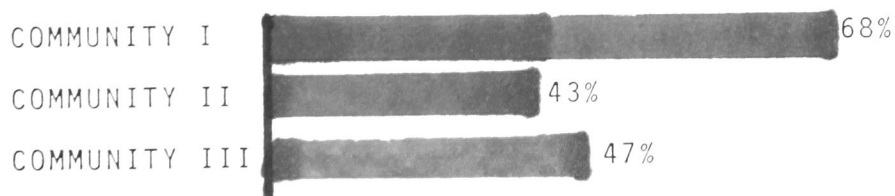
NATIONALISTIC THEOLOGY



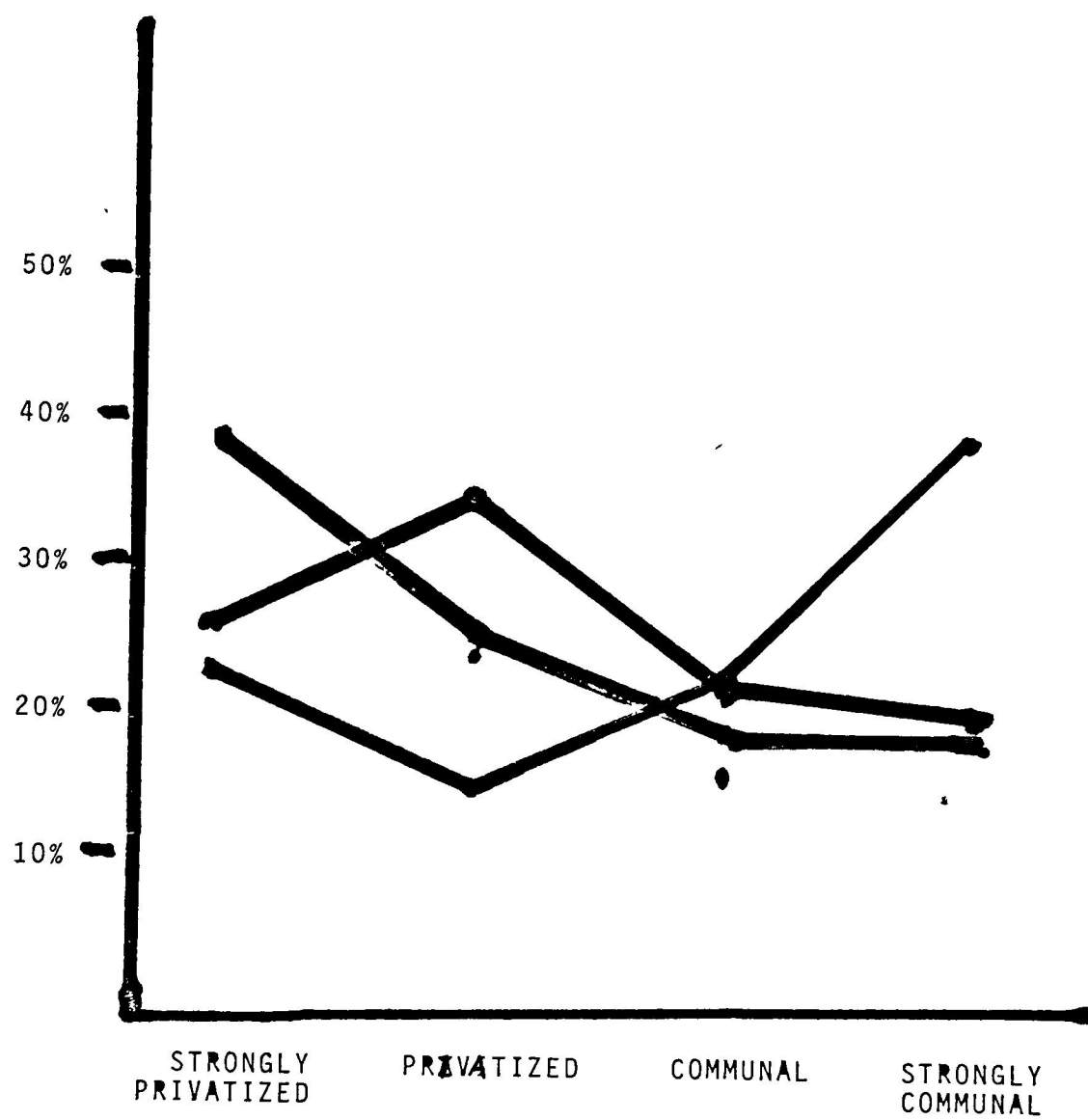
CONVERSIONIST THEOLOGY



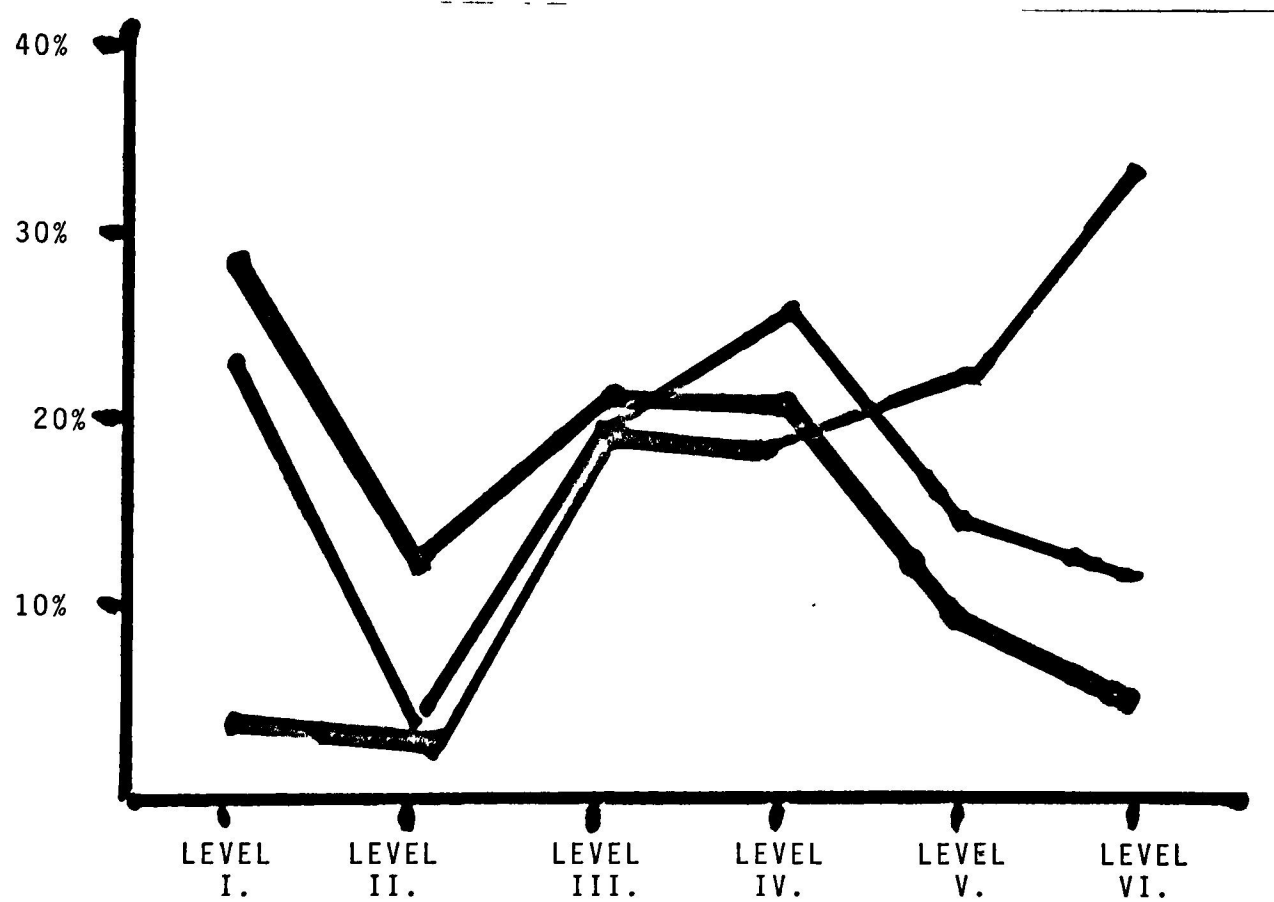
MANIPULATIONIST THEOLOGY



APPENDIX 36  
LEVEL OF PRIVATIZATION BY COMMUNITY



APPENDIX 37  
CHURCH INVOLVEMENT



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